



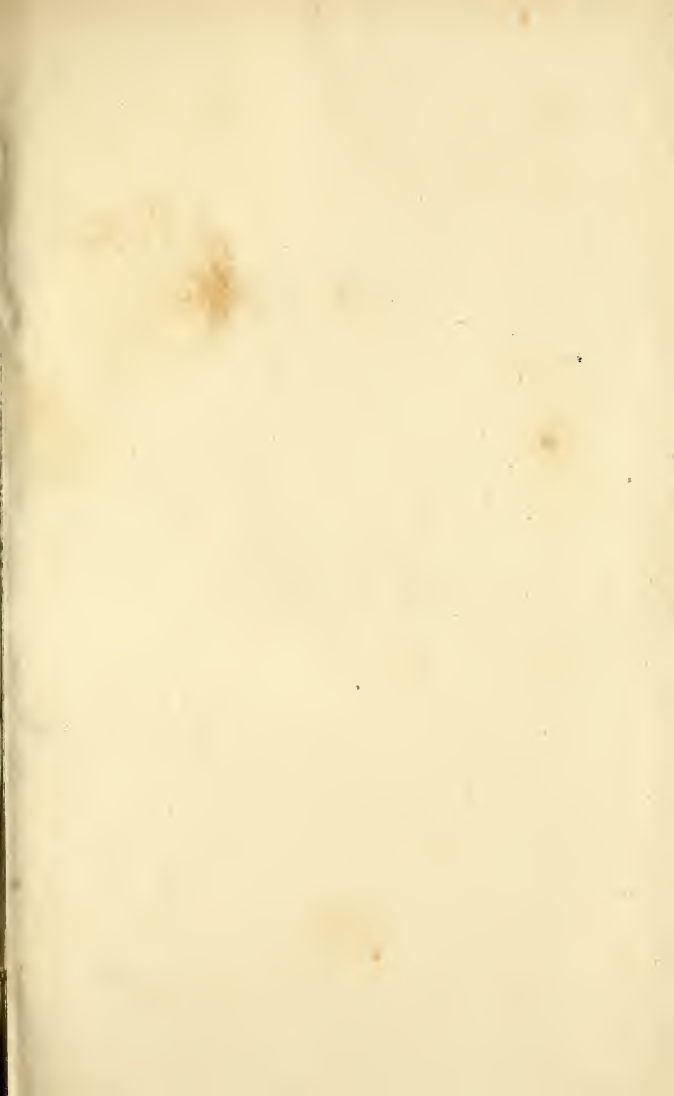
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THEODORE BEZA.

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BY J. J. HARPER.

HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMED RELIGION
IN
FRANCE.

BY THE
REV. EDWARD SMEDLEY, M.A.,
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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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THE annals of an oppressed and struggling church are far more likely to afford events of powerful interest than those of a dominant hierarchy; for it is in seasons of distress and suffering, of privation, contumely, and persecution, that the loftier passions of our nature are most strongly elicited. No portion of Christendom has undergone severer trials for the sake of truth than Protestant France; and none, therefore, may reward our inquiries with a richer harvest of varied and attractive incident.

It is little necessary to ask what few gleanings of faint and scattered light preluded, in that country, the glorious day-spring which burst upon all Europe

at the commencement of the XVIth century. Some glimmerings, but scarcely of so great brightness as has occasionally been asserted, may have broken in upon the darkness of the plains below, through the passes of the Alpine valleys. But it must be remembered that the Vaudois, who dwelt apart in that secluded Goshen, were confined to the narrow limits of their own fastnesses; that they possessed little ability, and probably much less wish, of adding proselytes to a faith which, if better known and more widely extended, might attract more frequent and more cruel persecutions than those from which they had occasionally suffered. The influence of those remote shepherds, therefore, could be but slight and local; and we may trace the causes of the early admission into France of the Reformed Doctrine and its rapid subsequent diffusion, to the deep sense with which great part of the nation was impressed, of the gross corruption of its existing church, rather than to any previous acquaintance with a better creed. The disease was acutely felt, and a remedy, therefore, when proffered, was eagerly accepted; not with a direct knowledge of its medicinal qualities, nor of the specific virtues of the salutary herbs from which it was extracted, but with a confident belief that God was the physician who administered the cup, and therefore that it must be mighty to save—*Speak the word only, and thy servant shall be healed.*

This feeling, however, was not general; nor did it exist, for the most part, among the powerful of the land. Louis XII. indeed, some time before the epoch at which our narrative will commence, had paid a distinguished tribute to the moral excellence of the Vaudois; when having been stimulated to their extermination by the bigotry of Pius III., he wisely and generously first instituted an inquiry into the habits of the accused. The result of that investigation demonstrated the pureness and inoffen-

siveness of the mountaineers; and the king swore by all the saints that, notwithstanding their heresy, they were far better men than either himself or any of his other subjects. The same prince at one time also had been forward in expressing detestation of the tyranny of the Pontificate, and a fixed resolve that it should be overthrown; and *Perdam Babylonis nomen* was the legend of a golden coin which he struck at Naples, in the heat of his contest with Julius II. But they were civil interests and secular rights alone which he regarded; and no doubts as to religious truth can be discovered in either of these transactions. The Vaudois might be guileless and virtuous after their fashion; but nevertheless they were heretics: the Pope was a monster of temporal ambition, whom, as such, it was the policy of the kings of the earth to restrain; but the Babylon which Louis vowed to destroy was not the spiritual Babylon, *Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations, drunken with the blood of the saints and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus*. The monarch of France was fully prepared to strip Rome of her *fine linen, and purple and scarlet decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls*, but he was not equally prepared to *come out of her himself, and to invite his people also to come out of her, that they be not partakers of her sins, and that they receive not of her plagues*.

It was in a similarly worldly spirit that the parliament of Paris remonstrated so vigorously, not many years afterward, when Francis I., soon after his accession, had consented to an abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction. That treaty, into the obscure origin of which this is not the fitting place to inquire, had preserved to France, even from the XIIIth century, the free election of her own prelates; and had thus averted from her the simoniacal collations of the papacy, and the long train of abuses incident to foreign patronage. The young king, however, allured by the specious hope of establish-

ment in Italy, through alliance with Leo X., rashly
 Dec. 14, agreed to purchase his aid by the surren-
 1515. der of those most important privileges. When the Concordat of Bologna, by which the new spiritual relations with the Holy See were arranged, had been read in the Council of Lateran, avowed by Francis, and presented by him to his parliament of Paris for registration, the proposal was met by an indignant remonstrance and appeal. Bitter, however, as is the language employed in that memorial against the "damnable ambition" and the "detestable avarice" of the Romish See, the violence which it was ever insatiably offering against all human rights, its exactions, its usurpations, its pestiferous nominations of unfitting ministers to the destruction of souls, and its plague-spot of simony; not one syllable is addressed against its far more crying perversion of Scripture, its abandonment of the sincerity of the Gospel, and its apostacy from the true institution of Christ.*

Again, when Tetzel, by dint of frontless assurance and false Latin,† was replenishing the treasury of the Vatican, and cheating simple-hearted sinners into a fancied barter of salvation for gold, it was
 1518. not against the flagitious doctrine of Indulgences in general that the faculty of Paris lifted its cry; but against a single proposition, which affected the balance of accounts, and the value received in this retail huckstery for souls. "Whoever," says an ancient canon revived for the immediate purpose, "whoever drops a *teston* into the

* This Appeal is printed at length by Loescherus in his *Acta et Documenta*, i. 554, and may be found also in Gerdesius, *Hist. Reformationis*, i. *Monumenta*, p. 60.

† The Diplomata with which Tetzel was furnished for sale were printed forms, with blank spaces for the names of the purchasers, and the necessary pronouns (he, she, his, her, &c.) to be filled up by his own hand, as occasion required. In one of these Indulgences, given at length by Gerdesius (*ut sup.* p. 73,) the following clause occurs: *ideo autoritate Apostolica, nobis tradita, TE concedimus facultatem eligendi idoneum secularem*, &c. The offending TE in this passage is in the autograph of Tetzel.

coffer for the crusade, in behalf of a soul now in Purgatory, delivers that soul, so that it infallibly proceeds at that very moment to Paradise. Therefore, by paying ten *testons* for ten souls, or a thousand *testons* for a thousand souls, all those souls respectively, without doubt, pass directly to Paradise." This proposition, said the assembled doctors, is false, scandalous, rashly asserted, and to be rejected for peace of conscience sake. But mark the rule which they substituted in its stead. "It is not infallibly certain that all souls indifferently which are in Purgatory, upon payment of ten sols sterling into the coffer for the crusade, immediately, and without doubt, pass into Paradise. The question must be referred to God, who accepts according to his pleasure, the treasure of the church, applied to the aforesaid souls."* This proposition, we are assured, is true, consonant with the opinions of all doctors of law, both human and divine, and affording encouragement to the piety of the faithful. The object here, then, was to check the lavish contributions diverted into foreign channels by the fears of Purgatory and the hopes of Paradise; not by any means to deny the inexhaustible treasure of superabundant merits, of which the Pope asserted that he held the keys. These he was at liberty to enjoy, and even to sell in moderation; but he was not to establish a monopoly, nor to exclude all other traders from the market. No one, it was thought, would grudge a penny for the redemption of his grandsire's soul from the pain of cleansing fires, provided that after the disbursement he was quite certain of receiving his pennyworth; and thus all the pence in France would in time find their way to Rome. But once raise a shadow of suspicion, a misgiving, however faint, a doubt, however slender, that the money is not quite safely invested; that there may be some

* *Qualificatio duarum propositionum ad Indulgentias Cruciatæ pertinentes, Parisiis definita, anno 1518. Id. ibid. p. 113.*

flaw in the title of the estate purchased : that there is no absolute warranty, no downright pledge of assurance ; but that after all it is an adventure, a lottery, a game of chance, and a speculation in which they are engaged ; and those chapmen who before would have paid down on the nail, will look twice at their penny, consider the value of ready money, and perhaps walk away with it still in their pockets. It was in this manner, on questions affecting their power and their purses, and not on any others, that the spiritual and lay authorities of France, at the season of Luther's appearance, raised opposition to the extravagant pretensions of Rome.

Slight, however, as was the preparation which had been made for their growth and culture, two years had scarcely elapsed from the public avowal of his principles, before Luther submitted them to the solemn cognizance of the French divines ; and the result, as might be expected, was a peremptory and unequivocal condemnation. In the dispute which the Saxon Reformer maintained with the
 July, Romanist champion, Eckius, at Leipsic,
 1519. the controversy consumed twenty days ; during which the points agitated concerned the Papal supremacy, Purgatory, and Indulgences, regarding which last question Eckius himself, we are told, was jocose.* Hoffman, rector of the University of Leipsic, who presided as moderator, having declined to pass judgment between the disputants, a reference was mutually agreed upon to the universities of Erfurt and of Paris. To this arrangement Luther willingly consented ; induced, as it appears, by a declaration which the Sorbonne

* *De Indulgentiis minore contentione disputatum est ; imò ipsi Eckio jocum et ludum ciebant.*—Melancthon, *Ep. ad Œcolampadium*, ap. Loescheri *Act. Ref.* iii. 215 ; et Gerdesium, i. 203. Melancthon, as well as Peter Mosellarius, were among the auditors of this disputation, and both of them have given very detailed accounts of it ; the former as above, the latter in an Epistle to Pflug, printed by Gerdesius, *ib.* 192. It is treated at great length by Milner also, in his *Church History*, iv. 400.

had published two years before, affirming councils to be superior to the Pope; and perhaps tempted also by some rumours which had been conveyed to him, and which were perfectly true, that he was not destitute of admirers among the French ecclesiastics. Great then must have been his surprise and disappointment, when, after a gestation of one-and-twenty months, the Parisian faculty ^{April 15,} was delivered of a fierce denunciation ^{1521.} of his opinions. "Many impious men and liars," said the divines, "arose during the youth of the church, such as Hermogenes, Philetus, and Hymenæus; after them appeared Ebion, Marcianus, and Apelles; then Sabellius, Manichæus, and Arius; and in its more advanced age, and nearer our own times, Waldo, Wiclif, and John Huss. In the present days also, have sprung from that generation of vipers certain sons of evil, born of the handmaiden and illegitimate, yea, children of the devil; among whom one of the principal is Martin Luther, if we may trust that it is a real name which appears on the titles of many writings attributed to him. He, indeed, like Hiel, who laid again the foundations of Jericho, in spite of the curse of Joshua, has revived several ancient heresies, and added others which are new. He also elevates his own judgment above that of all universities; he despises the opinions of the holy doctors of the church; and, as the summit of impiety, he endeavours to weaken the decision of councils: as if God, reserving truths necessary to salvation for Luther alone, had concealed them hitherto from the church! as if Christ had left his spouse even till these times in the darkness and blindness of error! What impious and shameless arrogance, not so much deserving to be refuted by argument as to be repressed by bonds, censures, fire and flame!" The *determination* (as it is called) then enumerates the various heretics whom Luther has followed in the

several works which pass under his name, for the doubt respecting their genuineness is gravely maintained throughout the instrument. The last of these works, *De Captivitate Babylonicâ*, is affirmed to rival the Koran in falsehood. "Whoever may be its author, he is assuredly a pernicious enemy of the Church of Christ, an execrable awakener of sleeping blasphemies, approving, commending, and extolling in that single volume every insane monster of heresy who has preceded him." In conclusion, the Sorbonne avows, that "having carefully examined, and fully discussed the whole mass of doctrine attributed to Luther, it declares and adjudges it to abound with detestable errors, pernicious both to faith and morals. All he has written is so couched as to seduce the unlearned and to injure the wise; it impiously derogates from the authority of the church, and of the priestly order; it is avowedly schismatical, opposed to Holy Scripture, and blasphemous against the Holy Spirit. Therefore, as highly mischievous to the Christian commonwealth, it should be exterminated and openly committed to the flames, and the author should be compelled by every possible judicial means to a public adjuration."*

The decree which we have thus abridged, was attacked by Melancthon, and not with his customary gentleness. In an *Apology*† for Luther, he characterizes the judgment of the Sorbonne as abounding with the fury of women and the impotence of monks; and he attributes its composition to some hired scribbler. That not *all*, however, of the ecclesiastics in France assented to Luther's condemnation, was soon evident by some occurrences in the diocese of Meaux. Briçonnet, bishop of that see was among the few exemplary prelates of his day. Zealously alive to the spiritual interests of his flock, he not only personally laboured among them with-

* Gerdesius iv. *Monumenta*, 10.

† *Apologia adversus furiosum Parisiensium Theologastrorum Decretum.*

out ceasing, but he invited also, as public teachers, many of the most devout and learned graduates of the neighbouring University of Paris. Several of these colonists of his diocess were already deeply imbued with the new learning; and the chief were Faber and Farel, who contributed by their preaching to scatter abroad the good seed recently vivified in their own bosoms. The Cordeliers whose profits and congregations were sensibly diminished by the settlers whom Briçonnet had imported, vigilantly observed and harshly represented both the conduct and the teaching of those ministers; and when the bishop supported his clergy with somewhat of incautious warmth, and represented the friars to be cheats, hypocrites, and Pharisees, the friars in return, denounced the ministers to the parliament of Paris as heretics, and the bishop himself as their fosterer. The parliament took serious cognizance of the complaint; arrested such of the ministers as had not seasonably withdrawn

1525.

from the approaching storm, together with the most zealous of their followers, and cited the bishop to a personal appearance. The orthodoxy of the latter was readily established; and he was dismissed, after a gentle admonition to observe greater discretion for the future, and the payment of a sum of money equivalent to the expense of prosecuting the less fortunate prisoners. Clear proofs of their heresy were adduced; most of them were scourged through the public thoroughfares of Paris, branded with a hot iron at Meaux, and afterward banished. The venerable Faber, than in his eighty-fifth year, sought an asylum with the king's sister, Margaret, Queen of Navarre,* ever a beneficent patroness of

* De Thou. vi. 8. where may be found a high character of this devout and charitable Princess, consort of Henry d'Albret. A book which she published in 1533, entitled, *Le Miroir de l'Ame pécheresse*, was condemned by the Sorbonne, because, while not mentioning either saints or monks, or any means of justification beside the blood of Christ, it contained a version, from Latin into French, of

men of letters, and an early convert to the Sacramentarian doctrine.* He survived under her protection at Nerac till his hundredth year.† Farel escaped to Geneva, where he afterward became well known as the chief friend and colleague of Calvin. Jaques Povent, a disciple of Faber, having relapsed after abjuration, was burned alive on the Grève, and perhaps may be considered the protomartyr of the French Reformation.‡

Jean le Clerc, a woolcomber, who had affixed a paper to the gate of the cathedral at Meaux, reviling Indulgences, and calling the Pope Antichrist, was among those who were whipped and branded. When his mother, no less zealous than himself, perceived the wound seared upon his forehead by the

certain prayers usually addressed to the Virgin, which it transferred to our Saviour. The queen avowed herself to be the authoress, and demanded the interposition of the king, her brother, by whom the Sorbonne was compelled to rescind its censure.—Gerdesius iv. 89.

* The student of ecclesiastical history need not be informed that Lutheran and Sacramentarian are designations of two parties strongly opposed to each other on the doctrine of consubstantiation; but the terms appear to have been used indiscriminately for the early French Reformed, till both were superseded by that of Huguenot. It might be that the Romanists were ignorant to which of the two parties the heretics belonged; or it might be also that the first French converts were divided between Luther and Zuinglius.

† A remarkable account of his death is cited by Gerdesius i. 175, note b.

‡ The theses which Povent, or Pavanès as he is elsewhere called, maintained, and for which he was condemned, are preserved by D'Argentre, i. 30. They are :—1. That Purgatory is not founded on Scripture, nor allowed by the Greek church, but invented by the avarice of priests. 2. That God requires no vicar, because He is omnipotent. 3. That confession to a priest is unnecessary. 4. That implicit reliance is not to be placed on the doctors of the church. 5. That addresses to the Virgin Mary are futile. 6. That tapers are not to be offered to saints. 7. That masses do not avail to forgiveness of sins, and that it is better to hear one sermon than 100 masses. 8. That the Papal bulls and Indulgences are impostures of the devil. There may be a doubt whether Povent or Jean Chastelaine, an Augustine friar, who preached the Reformed doctrines at Metz, and was burned alive at Vic, on Jan. 12, 1525, was the first French martyr. The death of Chastelaine occasioned great popular commotion at Metz, which city had received the Lutheran doctrines about the end of the year 1523.—Meurisse, *Hist. de la Naissance, du Progrès, et de la Décadence de l'Hérésie dans la Ville de Metz*, p. 3—5, et seq.

burning iron, she exclaimed, "Christ and his marks for ever!"* Her son retired to Metz, where an ill-judged act of iconoclastic zeal soon exposed him to a barbarous and most disproportionate punishment. One evening seizing a dead man's bone in the cemetery of St. Louis, he shattered the nose of an image of the Virgin, the diadem with which she was crowned, the head of the infant Jesus in her arms, the head and hands of a canonized prebendary of the cathedral, and the arm of a wooden image of St. Fiacre. These offences are thus particularized because his judges professed in some manner to assimilate their sentence to his crime, when they condemned him to the most savage mutilations. His nose and right hand were first cut off, two or three circles of red-hot iron were placed round his temples, and he was finally burned alive.†

Notwithstanding these severe punishments inflicted on the heretics at Meaux, it by no means appears that the French government, immediately before that explosion, regarded the progress of the reformers with a very serious eye; and indeed, the perplexity of the Vatican, furnished materials for the amusement of the court of the reigning monarch, Francis I. In 1524, the king himself was present, and did not refuse to smile at a light interlude represented in one of the saloons of his own palace; the plot of which, as it has been handed down to us, could scarcely be agreeable to any very zealous Romanist. In this *tragedy*, as it is strangely termed, when the curtain drew up, the Pope appeared seated on a lofty throne, crowned with his tiara, and encircled with a throng of cardinals, bishops, and mendicant friars. In the middle of the hall was a huge pile of

* *Vivat Christus, ejusque insignia!* Schultet, ad ann. 1523, p. 378. Le Clerc's history is related also, more at length, by Varillas, *Hist. Hæresium*, lib. v. p. 373.

† *Pour faire répondre, en quelque manière, son chastiment à son crime,* are the words of Meurisse, in whose history we find the details of this most atrocious execution, p. 21.

charcoal, smouldering, and scarcely betraying any sign of the flame which lurked beneath, till it was approached by a venerable gray-haired man with a mask imitating the features of Reuchlin.* At first he appeared as if alarmed at the unexpected sight of the large and brilliant company of ecclesiastics: but speedily recovering himself, he addressed them on church abuses, and the necessity of reform; and then, approaching the embers, he roused them with his staff, and revealed the glowing charcoal underneath. As Reuchlin withdrew, Erasmus entered, and was immediately recognised by the cardinals, with whom he seemed on terms of old acquaintance. In his speech on the diseased condition of the church, he did not probe the wound to its core, but soothed and mitigated its virulence by mild and lenitive applications; not declaring himself avowedly for either party, deprecating any sudden change in matters of so deep a moment, and strenuously recommending time as the most able physician. When he sat down behind the cardinals, they paid him distinguished attention, evidently dreading his opposition no less than they coveted his support. Next appeared a true counterpart of the Talus† of Spenser, a man all iron both in body and soul. He was intended for Hutten,‡ and bursting out into a furious declamation, he taxed the conclave, which he set at

* Reuchlin,—the best Hebraist of his days, the *Capnio*, as his German name is Hellenized, of the inimitable *Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum*, and often cited as one of the supposed authors of that most exquisite satire,—lost no opportunity of directing his keen ridicule against the monks.

† *Faerie Queene*, book, v.

‡ Of Ulrich Hutten's share in the *Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum*, no doubt is entertained. He is described by Camerarius, (*Vita Melancthonis*, 93. Ed. Leipsic. 1566,) in conformity with the character given above, *Impatientissimus injuriarum, libertatis immodicè cupidus, non prorsus tamen alienus a sævitia, quæ etiam vultus acerbitate et minus clemente interdum oratione indicabatur . . . animus ingens ac ferox, viribus polens*. Full illustration of the truth of the qualities here noticed may be found in Hutten's preface (addressed to Leo X.) to a Tract, *Contra effictam et ementitam Constantini Donationem*, and, indeed, in most of his *Invectivæ et Epistolæ* in his *Apology* for Luther.

nought, as the authors of all corruption in religion ; and openly denounced the Pope as Antichrist, the ravager and destroyer of Christendom. Seizing a pair of bellows he hurried to the embers and blew them violently into a flame so fierce as to terrify the holy college. While, however, he was still blowing and fuming, he fell down dead on the spot ; and the cardinals suppressing all marks, either of grief or joy, carried him away without any funeral service. Lastly, entered one in motely, whose monkish garb declared him to be Luther. Like a second Isaac, he bore a pile of logs upon his shoulder, and cried out, "I will make this little fire shine through the whole world, so that Christ, who has well nigh perished by your devices, shall be restored to life in spite of you!" Then, tossing the logs upon the charcoal, he kindled them into a blaze which illuminated the whole chamber, and seemed to shine to the very uttermost ends of the earth. Thereat the monster of a monk (*monstruosus cœnobites*) broke hastily away, and the Pope and cardinals, quaking with fear, thronged together in close deliberation.

Then the Pope, with many tears, demanded assistance and advice in a short and piteous speech. When he had concluded, up rose one of the mendicants, a round, big-bellied, and sleek-headed little brother,* who proffered ready aid to the pontiff. The holy father's diploma, heretofore, he said, had constituted the members of his order defenders of the true faith, and inquisitors into heretical pravity. If St. Peter would but a second time rely upon them, and place all the burden upon their shoulders, they would pledge themselves to carry the matter through to his entire satisfaction. The cardinals hailed this proposal with acclamations, and urged upon his holi-

* *Fraterculus obeso et protentiore ventriculo, capite pingui.* Can this picture have suggested to Thompson his

"little, round, fat, oily man of God?"

ness that those men who had dealt so well with John Huss at Constance, were of all others the most fit agents whom he could select for the present dangerous crisis. "Brethren," said the Pope, addressing the mendicants, "if indeed you will repeat your great work as at Constance, boundless are the rewards which you may expect. Your fourfold order shall no longer wear rags, but be richly dressed, ride on horses and in litters, throw purple robes on their shoulders, carry mitres on their brows, and be fed moreover with the fattest bishopricks. Go and prosper; stay our falling dominion, and for the safety of us all first extinguish this fire, kindled the Lord knows how." The friars, at the word, hurried to the flames, and pouring on them a vast quantity of neat wine, raised them at once to so fearful a height that the whole conclave was stupified, and the mendicants themselves fled with terror. When the cardinals had recovered a little, they addressed a supplication to the Pope. "Most holy father, to thee is given authority both in earth and heaven; quench the fire with thy malediction that it may not overpower us. We know that there is not any element in creation which must not subside at thy word. Heaven and earth obey thee; at thy bidding even Purgatory absolves or retains the souls of the departed. Wherefore, by thy saintly office, attack this fire with sound anathemas, lest we become a byeword and a reproach." "Cursed be he," was the Pope's apostrophe, in consequence, to the fire, "who lighted thee! Darkness overcome thee; night surround thee, that thou mayest no longer burn! May he who piled thee with fuel be stricken with the sores of Egypt, incurably in his lower bowels.* May God strike him with darkness, and blindness, and

* We dare not follow his holiness verbatim; for a pope always refines in his cursing. *Percutiot eum Dominus ulcere Egypti, et partem corporis per quam stercora egeruntur scabie et prurigine, ita ut curari non possit.*

madness, so that he may fumble in noon-day, even as a blind man fumbles in his night!" When the hapless Pope discovered that the fire was insensible to his curses, and that he was powerless against the elements, he expired in a paroxysm of rage, and at the sight the whole assembly broke up, convulsed with laughter.* Would that the many hours of religious persecution which marked the reign of Francis I., had been devoted instead to equally harmless buffoonery! But the wish is as idle in this instance, as that which was similarly breathed by the Roman satirist. We approach a real tragedy.†

Louis Berquin, a gentleman of Picardy, employed in the honourable office of king's advocate, had been convicted some time back of having translated into French certain writings of Luther;‡ and as he obstinately declined to retract his adherence to the obnoxious doctrine, he would even then have been led to the stake, but for the intercession of powerful friends. Arrested a second time, about the season of the disturbance at Meaux, it seemed as if he must encounter certain destruction. Nevertheless, so energetic were the representations offered in his behalf by Queen Margaret of Navarre, to her brother Francis I., at that moment prisoner in Madrid, that the king exercised from his distant confinement the length of arm for which royalty is proverbial, and commanded a suspension of the process. It was not however, till the return of the monarch from his captivity, and even then with a sullen and reluctant obedience, that the parliament allowed Berquin to be discharged from the Conciergerie. When Francis sent the provost of Paris to demand his release, and

* *Tragædia quæ Parisiis coram ipso Rege Francisco I. dicitur acta fuisse*, A. D. 1524. Gerdesius ii, Mon. 48.

† *Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
Tempora sævitæ, claras quibus abstulit urbi,
Illustresque animas!*—Juvenal, Sat. iv. 150.

‡ Among them was the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, which Burigny (i. 306) says, differs greatly from the original.

in case of refusal to force the gates of his dungeon, the magistrate was denied all positive answer, and coldly informed that he might execute his commission.* A few years later, when the king was closely occupied by the troubles of Italy and the ambitious schemes projected in the League of Cambrai, he forgot or abandoned his former client; and the long protracted and persevering vengeance of the parliament was then fully gratified.

1529. Of the charges upon which Berquin was condemned, few particulars have reached us; for Erasmus, from whom we derive a minute account of his behaviour at the stake, professes his own unacquaintance with them; and on one point alone declares his confidence—that whatever might be his imputed errors, Berquin was convinced in his heart that he maintained the truth. The victim was about forty years of age; so pure and blameless in life that scandal had never rested on his name; towards his friends he exhibited singular gentleness of affection; towards the poor and needy unbounded charity. To the external ordinances of the church he paid all due observance, attending regularly to days of fasting or of festival, to mass and sermons, and to whatever else might contribute to edification. Free from guile, liberal in disposition, upright in principles, he neither inflicted nor provoked injury; neither was there any thing in his whole life unbecoming of true Christian piety. His friends were probably mistaken when they declared him to be most alien from the doctrines of Luther; they were right, doubtless, when they added, that his chief crime was the ingenuous avowal of dislike to certain troublesome divines, and monks not less savage than stupid. Some of the heterodox propositions noted in one of his publications were, a declaration that the Scriptures ought to be read to the people at large in the vernacular tongue; a remonstrance

* Garnier, *Hist. de France*, xii. 389, et seq.

against the invocation of the Virgin Mary, often substituted in sermons in lieu of that of the Holy Ghost; a denial that she was the fountain of all grace; and a wish that certain expressions which in the vesper service, contrary to the unvarying tenor of Scripture, designated her as "our life and hope," should be restricted to the Son, to whom they properly appertained.

The process against Berquin was submitted to the decision of twelve judges, who as the day of sentence approached, committed him to prison, an evil omen of their intended severity. He was condemned in the first instance, after public abjuration of his heresy and the burning of his books by the executioner, to be bored through the tongue and committed to perpetual imprisonment. Astonished at a sentence thus harsh and unmerited, he spoke of an appeal to the king and to the Pope; and his persecutors, indignant at the menace, informed him that since he declined their original award, they would effectually prevent his power of appeal by condemning him at once to the flames. Six hundred armed men surrounded the Place de Grève on the day of his execution. A bystander,* close to the stake when Berquin approached it, perceived in him no change of countenance, no gesture betraying agitation. "You would have said," are the strong words employed, "that he was meditating in his library upon his studies, or in the church upon his God." Not even when the executioner read aloud,

* *Montius noster, cujus religiosam nôsti fidem, nihil ausus est scribere nisi quod oculis suis cominus viderit; aderat enim valde vicinus.*—Erasmus, *Ep. clx.* How noble are the concluding words of this letter! *Damnari, dissecari, suspendi, exuri, decollari, piis cum impiis sunt communia: damnare, dissecare, in crucem agere, exurere, decollare, bonis iudicibus cum piratis ac tyrannis communia sunt. Varia sunt hominum judicia; ille felix qui iudice Deo absolvitur.* In another letter to Cornelius Agrippa, whom he warns of the necessity of discretion by the sad example of Berquin, Erasmus expresses a high estimate of that martyr's virtues; *sit tibi exemplo Ludovicus Barquinus, quem nihil aliud perdidit quam in Monachos et Theologos simplex libertas; vir aliqui moribus inculpatissimus.*

in a hoarse voice, his accusation and sentence, did he show one symptom of diminished fortitude. When ordered to dismount from the cart, he descended cheerfully without a moment's delay. His bearing, however, by no means indicated that stony want of feeling which brutal hardihood sometimes generates in atrocious criminals, but was rather the effect of a tranquil spirit, at peace with God and with itself. The few words which he attempted to utter to the people were rendered wholly inaudible by the shouts of the soldiery, instructed to drown his last speech if he should attempt to deliver one; and so effectually had the representations of the priests steeled the hearts of the ignorant spectators, that when he was strangled at the stake, (the only mercy accorded to him,) not a single "Jesu!" was heard from the populace; ready as they always were to bestow such aspirations on murderers and parricides. "Thus much," says the bearer of that "great injured name," from whom we have borrowed the above narrative,—who never failed in wisdom to detect folly and iniquity, or in honesty to visit them with the ridicule which he thought their best corrective,—"Thus much have I to relate to you concerning Berquin;—if he died with a sound conscience, as I verily hope he did die, tell me in return whose end could be happier?"*

Great as was the discouragement which the German Protestants, (the name recently assumed by the Lutherans,) must have received from these acts of the French government, nevertheless the declaration of Charles V., by which he secured the election of his brother Ferdinand as king of the Romans, seemed to present an opportunity of uniting at least

1531 their *political* interests with those of Francis I. On the formation of the celebrated League of Smalcalde, envoys were accordingly despatched to Paris, who represented the covert

* Erasmus, *Epist.* clx.

design of Austria to transform the empire into an hereditary monarchy; and the crafty policy by which she was arraying the Catholics and the Protestants against each other, in order, by the common weakness resulting from their dissensions, to disqualify both parties from opposing her own schemes of immeasurable ambition. "Argument," said the zealous deputies, "not arms, must persuade to unity in religion: we have long demanded a general council; for even the staunchest supporters of Rome admit that she needs some reform; nor are we so bigoted to our own particular system, but that we will cheerfully abandon it if another be shown to us more accordant with the Gospel and with the usages of the primitive church. All that we solicit is, that you will close your ears to the calumnies by which we are defamed; that you will regard with suspicion the representations of the Pope, ever interested in the maintenance of abuses; and the insidious blandishments of the emperor, who seeks your destruction no less than our own. If you reject us, we may perish; but the hour will not long be delayed in which you will regret the loss of allies, almost pointed out by Nature for your benefit." These were bold words, but it was the policy of Francis not to disapprove them. He answered in general terms, carefully avoiding any mention of religious controversy; cordially united with the Protestants in a refusal to acknowledge Ferdinand's election; applauded their intention of submitting to a general council, the assembling of which he would not cease to urge upon the Pope; and excused himself from sending immediate succour, on account of the strict alliance in which he was engaged with the King of England, whose previous consent it was necessary to obtain; but promised so soon as that approval should be granted, an event of which he felt no doubt, that he would

despatch an-ambassador to Smalcalde, with full powers to negotiate a close union.

This reply of Francis I. was held as a good omen by the German Protestants. It seemed also, by an occurrence which took place about the same time, that the French Reformed were not wholly excluded from the pale and protection of the law; and a nefarious fraud practised in relation to their sect, at Orleans, was *almost* visited with severe punishment upon its contrivers. One midnight, while the brethren of a monastery in that city were assembled at Nocturns, their devotion was interrupted by an unusual and inexplicable noise. The immediate and general conjecture resolved the sounds into the work of an evil spirit; and the exorcist of the convent was accordingly called upon to employ his adjurations; but there was no voice, neither did any one answer in return. At last, when the spirit was asked whether it was dumb? a loud noise was renewed and accepted as a token of its powers of communication. The marvel was too astounding to be concealed; but the fathers, anxious, as it would seem, for an impartial confirmation of their own belief in the diabolical agency, stated to many of the chief citizens of Orleans that a singular event had occurred in their monastery, and, without entering into its particulars, invited them to be fellow-witnesses of it at the following midnight. The ghost was no less punctual in attendance at the appointed hour than were the citizens; and when it again disturbed the service, it was required to answer "yes" or "no" to the catechism of the exorcist, by a prescribed number of knockings. Was it the soul of any person buried in the church beneath?—Affirmed. After the recitation of many names, was it the soul of the wife of the mayor?—Affirmed. Was it damned, and for what sins? for avarice, uncleanness, pride, lack of charity, or, finally, for Lutheranism? All these offences but the last were

denied; and the charge of heresy being fully admitted, and a wish expressed to have the body disinterred from consecrated ground, the monks required the lay witnesses to sign a testimonial to the confession of Lutheranism and damnation. The citizens demurred, out of respect for their mayor; but the monks, without waiting for the certificate, conveyed the host and all their relics elsewhere, and resolved not to perform mass any longer in a place thus profaned. The ordinary, as was usual, took cognizance of these proceedings; visited the convent; ordered exorcisms to be performed in his own presence; and with no inconsiderable penetration, notwithstanding the opposition of those best acquainted with the ghost, stationed persons in the roofing of the church to seize it if it should appear. No traces, however, of the evil spirit were to be discovered.

Notwithstanding this failure in immediate detection, the Mayor of Orleans had strong reason to believe that revenge had prompted the monks to concert some juggling trick by which they hoped to destroy his reputation. His wife, when on her death-bed, had given strict injunctions that her funeral should be privately performed, in order to avoid the throng of begging friars who traded in attendance upon those solemnities. The widower had conformed to the request of the deceased; and moreover had presented the Franciscans, in whose church she was buried, with no more than six pieces of gold. These causes of offence were increased yet farther, by a refusal to permit the monks to appropriate a large portion of fuel from a wood which the mayor had recently felled in the neighbourhood; and their indignation at these repeated disappointments had not by any means been dissembled. The mayor framed a memorial grounded upon these facts, and laid it at the foot of the throne, praying for examination of the reputed ghost. But the monks pro-

tested against the royal jurisdiction ; and a commission of delegates from the parliament of Paris was appointed to determine their cause. For a long time no insight could be obtained into the case ; till some incautious expressions, dropped by a novice, excited suspicion ; and the desired avowal was obtained upon his receiving assurances of immunity, and of removal beyond the power of his guilty employers, who had threatened him with speedy death if he should betray their secret. Two of the friars, it appeared, one of whom was the exorcist himself, had tutored this youth how to enact the ghost by noises and knockings, and then having concealed him in the vaultings of the church roof, they easily executed the remainder of their stratagem. Even when thus convicted, the Franciscans persisted in denying the authority of the tribunal by which they had been condemned ; and when conveyed to Orleans, in order to undergo a punishment far too light for their crime, the troublous season which ensued prevented its infliction. They were sentenced to do penance in the cathedral, and to make a public confession of their guilt at the place of common execution. During their previous imprisonment, they were daily visited, cherished, comforted, and supported, by numerous partizans ; especially by women, who followed them from Paris to Orleans with plentiful tears and cordial marks of sympathy. The great outcry raised against the Lutherans in the year which followed, increased the favour of the populace towards these pitiful jugglers ; and although it is said that the king had fully determined upon razing their monastery to the ground, the feeling of the times manifested itself so strongly in their behalf, that it was thought better in the end to remit all farther penalty and to release them from confinement.*

This willingness of the parliament to do justice

* Sleidan, lib. ix, p. 141. Schultet, tom. ii, p. 463. Gerdesius iv, 96.

even against monks; the favourable reception of the Protestant deputies, joined to the intercourse which, during the years immediately following, Francis avowedly maintained with them; his intimate alliance with Henry VIII., now a declared schismatic from Rome; and the general tone of his court, in which his sister, Queen Margaret, and the ruling favourite, the Duchess d'Etampes, took no pains to conceal their partiality to the Sacramentarians, had encouraged an ardent hope in that sect, that the king himself was at least tolerant; and they attributed the occasional punishment of their brethren, solely to the zeal and importunity of the bishops and chief magistrates. Ere long, however, the indiscretion of perhaps a few heated individuals, fatally undeceived them. On one and the same night were affixed in the streets of Paris, and of various other chief towns of France, and on the gates of the very palace at Blois, at that time the residence of the court, numerous violent and ill-judged placards,* reflecting upon the mass

* Hence the year received the name of *L'an des Placards* (Gerdesius iv. 100.) In the *Monumenta* appended to the same volume, these placards are printed. Their general coarse and intemperate spirit may be estimated by the following extracts:—

*Le Pape et toute sa vermine de Cardinaux, d' Evesques, et de Prestres, de Moines et d' autres caphards diseurs de masses, et tous ceux qui y consentent soyent tels: assavoir, faux prophètes, damnables trompeurs, apostats, loups, faux-pasteurs, idolâtres, séducteurs, menteurs, et blasphémateurs exécrables, meurtriers des ames, renonceurs de Jésus-Christ de sa mort et passion, faux-tesmoins, traistres, larrons, et ravisseurs de l' honneur de Dieu, et plus détestables que le Diable. . . Allumez donc vos fagots pour vous brusler et rostir vous mesmes, non pas nous, pour ce que nous ne voulons croire à vos idoles, à vos Dieux nouveaux et nouveaux Christs, qui se laissent manger aux bestes, et à vous pareillement qui estes pire que bestes; en vos badinages, lesquels vous faites à l'entour de votre Dieu de paste, duquel vous vous jouez comme un chat d'un souris: faisons des marmiteux et frappans contre votre poitrine, après l'avoir mis en trois quartiers, comme estans bien marris, l'appelans Agneau de Dieu, et lui demandans la paix. . . Que pourroit dire un personnage qui n'auroit jamais vue une telle singerie? Ne pourroit-il pas bien dire, "Ce pource Agneau n'a garde de devenir mouton, car le loup l'a mangé."—pp. 61—66. A longer satirical work, which obtained great celebrity, was entitled *Le Livre des Marchands*, of which a full account may be found in Sleidan ix. *ad ann.* It treats of the extortion of Ecclesiastics, but in a style very inferior to that of our own contemporary *Supplication of the Beggars**

and the doctrine of the Real Presence. Francis might be careless respecting the ostensible object of attack; but his counsellors persuaded him that a movement thus simultaneous, in many different parts of the kingdom, betokened a combination which it was necessary should be suppressed. Four-and-twenty known Sacramentarians were accordingly arrested in Paris; and pains were taken to spread abroad an absurd rumour, (which, on account of that very absurdity, was doubtless more readily admitted by the gaping rabble, that these miserable men had plotted to surprise the Catholic population during mass, and to put men, women, and children, indiscriminately, to the sword. In order to increase the effect of a *coup d'état*, by which the king resolved to convince his own subjects, his Italian allies, and, above all, the Pontiff, whose confidence it was most important that he should secure, how great was his attachment to the true faith, how rooted his abhorrence of heresy, he

Jan. 19, hastened to the capital in the depth of a
1535. severe winter. There, he arranged an expiatory procession: in which himself, his queen, the princes of the blood, the peers of France, the great officers of the crown, and the resident ambassadors from foreign courts, personally assisted. An image of St. Genevieve, the patroness of the city, never exhibited unless in seasons of heaviest public calamity, was committed to the guardianship of the town butchers, who, from time immemorial, had asserted the privilege of that holy custody. Three days' prayer and fasting prepared them for their sacred charge; and when they appeared abroad, their path was cleared by apparitors, but not without difficulty, from the eager throng which pressed upon their steps; for happy was he among the spectators who could touch the propitious idol with the tip of his finger, with his cap, or even with

his handkerchief.* The costly shrine of St. Margaret, the precious reliquaries of the *Sainte Chapelle* and of the other Parisian churches, were carried abroad by bearers who walked with naked feet, and wore no other clothing than long shirts. The Archbishop of Paris held the consecrated host, the canopy over which was borne by three sons of Francis, and by the Duke de Vendôme. Next appeared the king himself, carrying a torch in his hand, and supported by the cardinals of Bourbon and of Lorraine; to the latter of whom he delivered the torch, at every halt of the procession, while he clasped his hands, knelt humbly on the ground, and implored the mercy of Heaven upon his people.

In a nearly contemporary ecclesiastical history may be found a very curious and picturesque account of this solemnity. The patience of the reader might be exhausted, if we were to marshal before him the unnumbered personages who figured in the *procession generalissime*, as it is called; if we were to particularize the interminable heads, bodies, and members of canonized mediators, which, for the first time since they had been deposited in the *Sainte Chapelle*, were now exhibited to popular gaze in the streets; but we cannot refrain from enriching our pages with a single passage in which the music of the king's Swiss guards is described as follows: "Their drums and fifes called to remembrance not the war of man with man, but that waged by man against God himself; so that they excited a piteous and Christian shuddering in all hearts. To these fearful drums succeeded the dulcet tones of hautboys, violins, cornets, and other musical instruments, distinct from the trumpets which flourished right melodiously. Joined with these were the choristers of the royal chapel on the right, and of *La Sainte Chapelle* on the left, fulfilling their duty to the utmost, by prais-

* Sleidan, lib. ix. p. 147. Gerdesius, tom. iv. p. 108.

ing God in motets, artfully composed in honour of the holy sacrament. It seemed as if the good king had wished to assemble in one all kinds of music, in order to recreate and console the spirits of Christians greatly troubled (*ennuyez*) on account of the dishonour wherewithal God had been visited, and to give them hope of His speedy assistance.”*

At the conclusion of this solemn puppet-show Francis dined with the archbishop: and after the banquet, addressed the assembly in a speech expressive of the acute anguish which he felt at the outrage offered to the King of kings by perverse men, unworthy of the name of men, who had blasphemed the Supreme Being, and publicly outraged the most august of His mysteries, His true body, and true blood. While his words were interrupted by the frequent sobs and groans of his auditors, he urged them in continuation, to denounce, without pity, all whom they knew to be heretics. “Before God,” he exclaimed, kindling with devotion, “if my right arm were gangrened I would cheerfully cut it off and cast it from me; and if my own sons were unhappy enough to be seduced by these detestable novelties, I myself would be the first to furnish proofs of their guilt.” On the moment, a proclamation was drawn up, and issued, commanding all French subjects, on pain of being considered accomplices, to lay informations against every heretic whom they could discover, his harbourers and concealers. The reward, on conviction of any of these criminals, was a fourth part of the property of the condemned; and finally, as the press had been the great engine of recent offence, its operations for the present were declared to be entirely suspended. Nor was this tyrannical edict considered sufficient; the day of mummary was to conclude with a spectacle of unparalleled horror. Francis, the most chivalrous knight and

* *Hist. Catholique de nostre Temps, contre l'Hist. de Jean Sleydan composée par S. Fontaine, Docteur en Theologie*, liv. v. p. 200. 1558.

accomplished prince of his days, (fertile as those days were in valour and in magnificence,) stopped at six different places of execution, in which an equal number of victims of fanaticism were tarrying his arrival, in all the bitterness of preparation for an agonizing death. As if the ordinary terrors of the stake were inadequate for the punishment now required, these martyrs, bound to the extremity of long poles, were alternately lowered to, and withdrawn from the blazing pile, till the ropes by which they were fastened caught fire, snapped asunder, and plunged their already half-burned limbs into the devouring flame.*

A few weeks only, however, elapsed before Francis discovered the full extent, not of the moral guilt, but of the great political fault which he had committed. Many Germans who had taken up their abode in Paris, terrified at the savage executions which they had witnessed, and at the encouragement offered to informers, hastily quitted the kingdom, and on their return home, communicated their fears to their astonished countrymen. The emperor quickly perceived that a panic thus seasonably propagated, might be used with advantage in dissolving the connection between Paris and the leaguers of Smalcalde. He insinuated that the professions of amity advanced by Francis had been employed solely as a blind; that his implacable enmity to the German name had wreaked itself, by punishments unheard of among the most barbarous heathens, upon such natives as he had decoyed within his power; that the Protestants might readily determine how far a prince could be sincere in Christian faith, who in the same hour leagued himself with the infi-

* Gordesius *ut supra*, where we learn that the horrible practice of cutting out the tongues of the heretics, before they were led to execution, in order to prevent them from addressing the spectators, was first introduced during this persecution. Felibien very calmly describes these horrors, as if they formed a part of the dessert at the royal banquet; *après le dîner on brusla les Héretiques condamnez. Hist. de Paris. liv. xx. Vol. II. p. 1033.*

del Turk, (as the king of France had recently done,) and committed to a death of unequalled torture, those who differing from him on a few points of doctrine, still were brethren confessing the same Gospel, and worshipping the same Redeemer. Thus astutely, when it served his purpose, could Charles extenuate the great disruption from Rome, which, at other seasons, he was equally well skilled to pourtray in its fullest ruggedness and separation.

No sooner had Francis learned the consternation which his severe measures had produced in Germany, than he sought to counteract their ill effects. A new edict restrained the magistrates from admitting fresh denunciations, and restored the press to its former activity. In an *apology* addressed to the Protestant cities and princes of the empire, he represented his alliance with the Turk as a mere commercial treaty, authorized from time immemorial by the precedent of Venice. He affirmed that the few fanatics whom he had punished, had endeavoured to excite a sedition in his capital, and that public safety had demanded a rigorous example; that in permitting the law to take its extreme course, he had only trodden in the steps of the German princes themselves, who, in like manner, had suppressed the Anabaptists, when they were scattering the seeds of revolt under the cloak of religion; that not a single German had been included among the criminals; and that it was not possible that any true Protestant should feel less abhorrence against the impious blasphemers who reviled the body and blood of their common Saviour, than had been excited in himself. These representations were followed up by a special mission to the confederates at Smalcalde. William of Bellay, the envoy selected, was personally intimate with many of the deputies, and he adroitly depicted his master as a skilful, and by no means an intolerant theologian. He assured them that the Sacramentarians who had been pu^t 1

death, were enthusiasts not to be honoured with the name of Protestants; that the king had profoundly examined the recent confession of Augsburg, in which (although *not coinciding in every point*) he admitted that there was much sound thinking and acute reasoning on matters of the greatest import. For instance, that regarding Papal supremacy, Purgatory, the celibacy of the priesthood, monastic vows, and the administration of the sacrament in both kinds, his views so far coincided with those of the Reformers, that there could be little doubt of a final good understanding. In conclusion, Bellay invited them either to admit certain French divines to a conference at Smalcalde, or else to allow some of their own body to return with him for a like purpose to France. Melancthon and many others earnestly wished to embrace the latter proposition; but the Elector of Saxony, from a prudent misgiving that Francis looked far more anxiously for a temporal than a spiritual union, repressed the ardour of his confiding and unsuspecting friends. Nor was he deceived in his anticipations; for Bellay, ere he departed, manifested the true object of his diplomacy, by proposing a formal alliance against the emperor. The offer was received coldly, and the ambassador retired disconcerted.

Little indeed was Francis to be trusted. At the same moment at which Bellay was thus negotiating with the Protestants at Smalcalde, his brother, the Archbishop of Paris, was engaged on a mission to the Vatican; in which, with the hope of rendering Paul III. favourable to the views of the King of France for the recovery of Milan, the envoy was instructed to represent in the strongest possible colours the signal mark of attachment which his master had so lately exhibited to the true and ancient church. In this attempt also the king was frustrated; and, in order that no part of these transactions might be without its share of duplicity, the archbishop, who

in secret if not absolutely favourable, was most unusually indulgent to the new learning, was recompensed by the Pope for the disappointment of his mission by the presentation of a cardinal's hat.*

Meantime, while the followers of Luther continued to acquire strength and numbers in Germany, they almost disappeared in France under the superior influence of a native reformer. John Calvin was born at Noyon, in Picardy, in 1509, and imbibed or increased a strong attachment to Protestantism in the College of Forteret, at Paris. A speech, replete with Lutheran maxims, pronounced on one occasion by the rector of that college, was traced, at least in part, to the pen of Calvin; who, in order to escape a threatened arrest fled to Angoulême. During his concealment in that town, he found sufficient access to books to compose the most elaborate and methodical work which had hitherto been written illustrative of the Reformed principles, his *Christianæ Religionis Institutio*; that bold treatise appeared in print for the first time at Basle, in 1536, prefaced with a long, fearless, learned, and eloquent remonstrance to Francis I., whose hands were yet reeking with the blood of martyrs to Protestantism.†

The early travels and various residences of Calvin are much disputed; and their adjustment matters but little in this place, since his historical and ecclesiastical importance depends altogether upon his final settlement at Geneva. That city, long struggling against the encroachments of the dukes of Savoy and of its own bishops, to whom the emperors had given a large share of temporal power under the title of princes of Geneva and its environs, was

* Cardinal Bellay was an admirer and a correspondent of Melancthon. Some of his letters are couched in an affectionate tone, and subscribed *tuus ex animo Card. Bellajus*.

† The first edition known to bibliographers is that of Basle, 1536. The dedication bears date Aug. 1, 1535, which has occasioned a suspicion, by no means well founded, that there *may be* an edition of that year also. The last copious revisions and augmentations by the author were given in a folio edition at Geneva, 1559.

roused to new exertions for liberty at the epoch of the Reformation. Its inhabitants uniting themselves in a solemn compact with those of Friburg and Basle, assumed the title of *Eidgenossen* or sworn Confederates; one of the conjectural sources of the better known party name *Huguenot*, applied afterward to the Protestants of France. So powerful had the Genevese rendered themselves in the year 1526, that the Duke of Savoy abandoned his pretensions to sovereignty. Within nine years from that date, the Reformed Doctrine also had become so entirely naturalized among them, that it was proclaimed the religion of the state; the Popish bishop was excluded, and Calvin, by that time notorious for his zeal, his talents, and his intrepidity, received an invitation to fix his residence in the city as a public teacher of religion. The earnest adjuration of William Farel, (whom we have already seen at Meaux, and who had been one of the most ardent promoters of the late revolution at Geneva,) was not likely to be without effect upon a disposition so fitted to receive strong impressions as that of Calvin; and, when he was solemnly warned, that unless he became a fellow-labourer in the vineyard of Geneva, the curse of God would attend him whithersoever he went, it was but natural that his kindled imagination should accept the fervid wish of his friend as a special call from Heaven. But the city was at that moment feverish and unsettled, in its first subsidence after a great religious and political change. Faction and fiery spirits were found in it, not yet prepared to bow down to discipline; strong passions roamed abroad unwilling to be controlled, and the stern and uncompromising temper of the new pastor was ill adapted to soothe them into repose and submission. Scarcely a year had passed from his first settlement before the inflexible severity with which Calvin pressed certain indifferent matters, as if they were essential, and the ill-judged pertinacity with

which he sought to feed with strong meat that infant church which required the milk of babes for its sustenance, occasioned his forcible ejection. The points in controversy speak for themselves. In opposition to a decree of the synod of Lausanne, he refused to allow the observance of any holidays excepting Sundays, to admit baptismal fonts to be placed within his churches, and to administer the sacrament with unleavened bread. Resistance to these harmless customs, wholly uninfluential as was their admission or rejection, upon purity either of faith or practice, appeared to Calvin of sufficient moment to justify the sacrifice of his newly embraced spiritual charge; and, in obedience to a decree of the syndics, he retired in banishment to Strasburg.*

During his absence, men's thoughts and opinions grew calmer; the heat generated by sudden and rapid transitions had time to abate; and the want of a commanding and presiding mind which might arrange, fashion, and consolidate the hitherto jarring elements of their ecclesiastical polity, directed the wishes of the Genevese once again to Calvin. On his side, it was not likely that difficulty should arise. A restoration sought for by his disciples ensured him unlimited dominion; the spiritual government of a distinguished and now independent city, was in itself a most honourable charge; and the prospect of future success in the labour of holiness, of pouring the full light of the Reformation over France, immediately adjoining and as yet but partially illuminated, might awaken in Calvin's bosom, a glorious hope

* Farel retired together with Calvin. We hear much of him afterward from Meurisse. On one occasion, when a Cordelier was preaching on "the perpetual virginity of the Mother of God," and that which the Bishop of Madaura, with a singular choice of epithets, terms *l'amoureuse incarnation* of our Saviour, Farel having interrupted the sermon and denied the assertion, lost his hair and beard under the nails of the women present, who would have killed him but for the seasonable appearance of a detachment of soldiers.—*Hist. l'Hérésie dans Metz*, p. 67.

that he was set apart as the chosen apostle of his native country. He accepted the proffered charge accordingly, and his brilliant visions^{1541.} were in great part realized. Never was more despotic sway established over men's wills and consciences than that which he erected in Geneva; and, although he failed to introduce his scheme as the dominant religion of France, it became the real model, as himself was the virtual high priest, of every separate Reformed congregation within the limits of that kingdom.

CHAPTER II.

Nature of the Calvinistic Church Polity established in France—Clement Marot's Psalmody—Adopted by the Calvinists—Alliance between the Church of Geneva and the Vaudois—The Vaudois publish a Confession—Decree of the Parliament of Provence against the Merindolese—Report on their habits—Suspension of the Decree—Chaussonnée and the Rats—Persecution by the Baron d'Oppeda—Massacre at Cabrieres and Merindol—Death of Francis I.—Rise and great power of the House of Guise—Public entry of Henry II. into Paris—Burning of Heretics—Edict of Chateaubriand—Martyrdom of Louis de Marsac—Abuses in the French Church—First Calvinistic Church in France—Reformed Colony at Rio Janeiro—Treachery of Villegagnon—Outrage upon a Meeting-house in Paris—Antony, King of Navarre, and Louis, Prince of Condé, attend a Procession of the Reformed—Arrest of Francis d'Andelot—His Imprisonment and Release—1st National Synod of the French Reformed Church—Its Confession and Canons of Discipline.

AN examination of the differences in religious faith between Calvin and his brother Reformers would be misplaced in these pages; and it is not here that we need enter into the subtle and interminable mazes of doctrinal controversy. His creed, which differs widely in many respects from some opinions frequently inculcated in his name, may be most accurately learned from the *Christian Institution* which we have already mentioned; and, for his

discipline, it is more our object to state what he *did*, than to inquire whether it was the best which might have been done.

For the maintenance of his own personal authority, no system assuredly could be better calculated than that which he arranged; nor would it be just on that account to condemn him as labouring chiefly for his own aggrandizement. That Calvin was influenced in part by ambition it would be idle to deny, for what man has ever produced great effects upon his species, if wholly devoid of that passion? a passion, when purified and defæcated, amongst the noblest ingrafted on our nature. And Calvin's ambition *was* thus sublimed. The work which he took in hand was not his own work, but that of his Master; in order to perform it to the utmost, an extraordinary measure of power was necessary, and he, therefore, omitted no effort to obtain, no vigilance to preserve his supremacy. That he did not mistrust his own use of that power can never be a matter of surprise; that he saw its danger if transmitted to others, is evident from his not having recommended a successor, and from Beza's immediate advice after his friend's death,* that the office of president should be allowed to expire with him. The infallibility, in all but name, which he maintained while alive, was too precious and too perilous a legacy to be bequeathed to a successor.

The chief distinction of Calvin's ritual worship from that of Luther was found in its extreme plain-

* Spon, *Hist. de Genève*, i. p. 313, note. Mosheim iv. 375. Maclaine, in his note on Mosheim, has not only given a wrong reference to Spon, but he has misrepresented facts. He states that Calvin, when at the point of death, advised the clergy not to elect a successor, and proved to them the dangerous consequences of intrusting any one man during life with authority so unlimited as that which himself had exercised. In the speeches reported in the notes to Spon, as delivered by Calvin on his death-bed, nothing of this kind occurs. But it is said, that when his infirmities prevented his regular attendance as president, Beza acted as his deputy; and that *he*, after Calvin's death, advised the substitution of an annual moderator instead of a perpetual president.

ness ; a simplicity in too many instances degenerating into absolute nakedness. Not only were images and pictures excluded from his sacred edifices, as idols and abominations, but the decent majesty of devotion was violated by the rejection of almost every outward adjunct. The peculiar vestments which discriminated the priest from the layman were torn away ; the soul-awakening tones of the organ were silenced ; a frugal meal eaten at a plain table was substituted for the more ceremonious administration of the sacrament of the body and blood of the Saviour. It seemed as if Calvin believed that the senses were no longer the channels through which the mind received its knowledge and exhibited its operations ; and that to omit paying the homage of the body was the genuine mode of worshipping God in spirit. The flight of her bishop prevented the continuance of Episcopacy in the Church of Geneva, although it by no means appears that Calvin himself was an enemy to that institution ; and it would be difficult to establish a necessary connection between his polity, from which it was excluded by compulsion, and later voluntary Presbyterianism. The caprice of the congregation was allowed to regulate the salaries of the ministers, who were thus placed under the control of the very persons whom it was their duty to teach and to reprove, in season and out of season, through good report and evil report ; and upon whom, if it were only on that account, they ought to be wholly independent. Besides the minister, each church appointed deacons, who acted as treasurers and almoners ; and elders, who fulfilled the office of censors and guardians of public morals. Auricular confession indeed was abolished, but the inquisition of the consistory formed by the union of the above three authorities, the ministers, the deacons, and the elders, might prove equally dangerous, and was certainly far more tyrannical than the Romish custom.

Once in every month this formidable band assembled; received the denunciations of the elders; summoned their erring brethren before their bar; took cognizance of their frailties; sentenced them to public penances; and enrolled their shame in ever-during registers. A synod composed of deputies from the several consistories met annually to decide on matters of general interest; and in cases of extreme necessity, an appeal lay to a council to which representatives were furnished by all the provinces embracing Calvinism.*

One, and that an important part of the Genevan worship, was supplied from France; and details, more copious than our limits permit us to borrow, of the origin of congregational psalmody, and its adoption by the Calvinists, are very amusingly given by Warton.† Clement Marot, who held a post about the royal household of France, had hitherto dedicated his facile powers of elegant versification to subjects always light, frequently licentious. Notwithstanding the freedom both of his life and writings, he early embraced the Reformed Religion; was imprisoned for heresy during the captivity of Francis I. in Madrid, and twice afterward was compelled to take refuge in Geneva to escape similar arrest.‡ It was about the year 1540 that, renouncing his former themes, he put forth a metrical French version of the first fifty Psalms; and in the dedication to Francis I., after drawing a parallel between that king and David, which, it may be thought, must have cost him no slight struggle with conscience to compose, he very strikingly exhibited the grotesque mixture of ethnical and Christian images, at that time present to his fancy. God, he says, was the Apollo who

* The difficulties under which Calvin laboured, and the wisdom which he manifested in encountering them, are noticed at much length in the masterly preface to Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

† *History of English Poetry*, § xiv.

‡ In the close of his life, after the publication of his Psalms, Marot again retired to Geneva, in which city he died in 1544.

tuned David's harp; the Holy Spirit was his Calliope; his two-forked Parnassus was the summit of the crystalline heaven; and his Hippocrene was the deep fountain of grace.* But, alas! the vein of Marot flowed quite diversely from that of the Hebrew poet-king, and when he ceased to sing of earthly love he ceased also to sing melodiously. The model which he furnished was faithfully copied, not many years afterward, by the framers of our English psalmody; and the merits of the French bard may be accurately estimated, when we add, that in his devotional strains, Marot was the Apollo, the Calliope, the Parnassus, and the Hippocrene of Sternhold and Hopkins. Nevertheless, bald as was Marot's version, it was the work of a popular court-poet; it was in rhyme easily adapted to the *vaudevilles* and ballad-tunes of the day; and the translator, perhaps, was not a little surprised to hear every chamber of the palace, and every street in Paris, re-echoing with his sacred songs, frequently accompanied by the fiddle, soon after their publication. As no attempt was made to introduce them into the ritual of the church, the Sorbonne approved their orthodoxy, and thus unwittingly gave additional keenness to a weapon soon to be turned against themselves.

Calvin, as we have before stated, had banished the ancient ecclesiastical music, and it is probable that he soon perceived the necessity of a substitute,

* *Or donques, Roy, pren l'œuvre de David,
Euvre plus tot de Dieu, qui le ravit :
D'autant que Dieu, son Apollo estoit,
Qui luy en train et sa harbe mettoit.
Le Saint Esprit estoit sa Calliope;
Son Parnassus, montaigne à double croupee,
Fut le sommet du haut ciel crystallin :
Finalement, son ruisseau cabalin
De Grace fut la fontaine profonde ;
Ou à grans traits il but de la clere onde,
Dont il devint Poete en un moment
Le plus profond dessouz le firmament.*

*Clement Marot au Roy tres chresten Francois premier de ce nom, sur la
traduction des Psalmes de David, Sal.*

which might impart some warmth to the general frigidity of his service. Marot's version appeared most seasonably for his purpose. It was so plain and prosaic that every peasant might easily understand, and commit it to memory. All resemblance to the Romish antiphonal chant, which Calvin rejected as superstitious and unedifying, was carefully avoided, by setting the words to simple and monotonous tunes, equally removed from science and from sweetness,* but in which every individual of the congregation might take a part. Beza completed the task which Marot had begun; their joint psalms were appended to the Catechism of Geneva; passed from the lips of the gallants of France to those of the herdsmen of Swisserland and the citizens of Flanders; became one of the distinguishing characters of Calvinism; and called down a severe interdict from the faculty of Paris, by which they had not long since been as formally sanctioned.

Among other alliances by which Calvin had strengthened his rising church was a union with the Vaudois, those forerunners of the Reformation who from time immemorial had preserved the faith and usages of primitive Christianity, in the depth of their tranquil valleys in Piedmont. Already, more than once during the XVth century, had these inoffensive mountaineers been denounced by Rome, and subjected to persecution by the dukes of Savoy; but when the rashness of Charles V., in 1536, subjected the larger part of the dominion of those princes to the sway of France, the Vaudois for a season enjoyed repose. Their chief safety, however, depended upon their obscurity; and could they have been content to be forgotten, they might have remained unharmed. But proud of connexion with the new and flourishing church of Geneva, and per-

* The learned Quick was of another opinion. "Louis Guadimel, another Asaph or Jeduthan, a most skilful master of music, set those sweet and melodious tunes unto which they are sung even unto this day."—*Synodicon in Gallia Reformatâ, Introduction, v.*

haps over-estimating its power of temporal aid, they soon abandoned their cautious policy of concealment, and for the first time printed and published a confession of faith and a liturgy. A rejection of the doctrine of human merits, of traditions, of the infallibility of the Pope, of prayers for the dead, and of many other Romish practices stigmatized as superstitious and idolatrous,* was little likely to pass uncensured by the French prelacy; and, accordingly, in 1540, the Archbishop of Aix denounced to the parliament of Provence certain portions of his diocess as heretical. Beyond their valleys, the Vaudois had extended themselves through some districts of Provence, in which they had colonized the large town of Merindol, and about thirty villages, the chief of which was Cabrieres. Eighteen of the inhabitants of the first-named place, having neglected a summons of the parliament, were declared contumacious, and sentenced to perpetual banishment; and a decree of extermination was pronounced against their place of abode. "Whereas," so recites this barbarous edict, "the town of Merindol is a notorious retreat and receptacle of all those who profess the doctrines of certain damnable sects, the court orders that it shall be rendered desert and uninhabitable; that every house in it shall be burned or demolished; and that all buildings, coverts, and woods, within two hundred paces of its circuit, shall be razed to the ground."†

* These opinions were maintained by Claude, Bishop of Turin, early in the IXth century, in a *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*. The Vaudois formed a portion of his diocess. The confession of faith presented by the Merindolese to Cardinal Sadolet and others in 1542, is printed by Gersedius, iv. *Monumenta*, 87. The article on the Eucharist, although lengthily and elaborate, is far less involved than most contemporary statements of that controverted mystery. Nothing could be more offensive to a staunch advocate for transubstantiation than the following plain language:—*certum est impostores esse qui docent panem Cænæ esse proprium et reale (ut loquuntur) Christi corpus*, p. 95.

† *Hist. Eccl. des Eglises Reformées dans la France*, tom. i. p. 37. Garnier, *Hist. de France*, tom. xiii. p. 310.

The governor of Provence refused to execute this savage ordinance without express authority from the king; and Francis, when applied to, before sanctioning the cruelty, directed inquiry to be made into the habits and manners of those whom he was requested to destroy. It might be thought that the report drawn up by William de Bellay, his former envoy to Smalcalde, and now governor of Provence, would have ensured protection on grounds not less of policy than of humanity. "The Vaudois," replied that high officer, "differ from our communion in many parts of their creed, but they are irreproachable in their morals, laborious, sober, benevolent, and of unshaken loyalty. Agriculture is their pride and sole occupation; and so marvellous is their industry, that, in numerous cases in which landed proprietors have been contented with a small quit-rent, or have granted renewable leases on long terms, estates formerly rated at four crowns per annum have produced three hundred and fifty; the tenants all the while having cheerfully and regularly paid their dues both to the crown and to the landholder. Hospitality is one of their proverbial virtues, and not a beggar is ever known in their settlements. It must be confessed, however, that they rarely enter our churches; and if they do so, they pray with their eyes fixed on the ground, casting no regard on any of the saints; they do not use holy water, nor do they acknowledge the benefit derived from pilgrimages and *neuvaines*,* nor say mass either for the living or the dead." The utmost indulgence obtained from Francis, in consequence of this simple and touching relation of patriarchal manners, was a short respite. The villagers were commanded to appear before the Archbishop of Aix within three months, and to solicit from him reconciliation with the church. In default of such obedience, the parliament of Provence was authorized

* Prayers made *nine* days to some particular saint.

to proceed against them with the uttermost rigour ; and all civil and military officers were enjoined to afford co-operation. "I do not burn heretics in France," said the king, "in order that they may be nourished in the Alps."* The given period elapsed without the required submission of the Vaudois, and years rolled on, and yet the royal ordinance for their destruction remained unfulfilled. The cause of that forbearance, although ludicrous, is too illustrative of the follies which the Romish Church occasionally mingled with its cruelties to be altogether omitted.

Chaussonnée, first president of the parliament of Provence, was the author of a large work, *Catalogus Gloriæ Mundi*, in which he relates, that in early life, while he practised as an advocate at the bar of Autún, so fearful was the devastation produced in the neighbourhood of that city by swarms of rats, that a general famine was reasonably apprehended. Every human means for the destruction of the marauders having failed, appeal was made to the power of the church ; and the grand vicar of the diocess was instructed to promulgate the ordinary form of excommunication, provided against noisome beasts and reptiles. Certain preliminary steps were necessary before the issue of this final decree ; and in stating them we beseech our readers to suppress their smiles, and to remember that we are placing before them serious facts. First, the rats were cited to appear in the ecclesiastical court ; secondly, on their contumacy, the grand vicar appointed a day on which the defendants might be heard by their proctor, in appeal against the prosecutor, who claimed definitive sentence ; and Chaussonnée was appointed to the honourable office of advocate for the rats. His clients were largely indebted to his in-

* *Introduction to Henry Arnaud's Recovery of the Vaudois*, by H. D. Acland, lvi. ; to the Prolegomena of which interesting and most elegant volume every inquirer into the history of the Vaudois is bound to express obligation.

genuity. He pleaded that the rats were too widely dispersed to admit of general assembly under a single citation, and that the writs ought therefore to be read after mass in each separate parish. This demurrer occasioned considerable delay; and after the form, which was strictly legal, had been complied with, and the accused still continued to decline the summons, their able advocate resorted to a new defence. The journey, he urged, was long and incommodious; the roads were beset with cats; and, above all, any general proscription which involved in one mass parents together with their children, the innocent no less than the guilty, was opposed to the first natural principles of justice. We are ignorant of the issue of this cause, but upon its dexterous conduct were reared the fame and fortune of Chaussonnée, who always attributed to the reputation which he then obtained, his subsequent high professional advancement. At the moment at which he was preparing to execute the edict issued against the Vaudois by the parliament over which he presided, a Provençal gentleman waited upon him; turned the conversation upon his book; opened it at the passage in which the above incident was narrated; and asked whether a society of men deserved less regard than a herd of rats? Chaussonnée, struck by the justice of the reproof, had the merit of suspending any farther steps towards persecution during the remainder of his life.*

Unhappily, on Chaussonnée's death, a president of widely different temper succeeded; and to his extensive civil power, Meinier, Baron d'Oppeda, united the military command of the province in the absence of its governor. Personal motives are said to have stimulated his enmity against the Vaudois. One of his tenants, who had robbed him, found an asylum in their fastnesses; and his hand

* De Thou vi. 15. Garnier xiii. 307—316, who cites Gauffredi, *Hist. de Provence*, and Perrin, *Hist. des Vaudois*.

had been disdainfully refused by a neighbouring Countess, who liberally extended protection to those industrious husbandmen, from whom her chief wealth was derived. D'Oppeda vowed their destruction, and commenced his design by forwarding to the royal council incessant reports of disaffection among the mountaineers, and of their evident desire to erect themselves into independent cantons, on the model of their Swiss neighbours. Arsenals and magazines, he said, were forming; their difficult passes were intrenched; their commanding heights were crowned with batteries; at a word, 16,000 native troops, and an equal number of auxiliaries, could be gathered in the field; and unless their formidable preparations were seasonably anticipated, the whole force of the kingdom might hereafter be demanded for their subjugation. Having thus artfully awakened the king's fears, and received the instructions which he so much desired, his next care was to prevent suspicion among his victims; and he called out the extraordinary militia of Provence, under the ostensible pretext of joining an armament at Marseilles, destined to co-operate in a descent upon England. It was not till they ^{1545.} were almost surrounded that the villagers perceived their danger; and a great proportion, availing themselves of the only chance of safety now left open, retired in hasty flight to the mountains. As the troops advanced to Merindol, only one peasant youth was found within its precincts, who stipulated for his ransom with the soldier who arrested him by the promise of two crowns. But D'Oppeda, unwilling to permit the escape of a single prisoner, paid the price of blood to his captor, tied the victim, thus purchased, to an olive-tree, and shot him to death, while the town was pillaged and burned.* Sixty men, capable of bearing arms, remained in the village of Cabrieres, and to them the savage,

* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* tom. i. p. 45.

not knowing the scantiness of their numbers, granted a capitulation. No sooner, however, had he discovered his mistake, than the terms were violated; and the prisoners, many of them accompanied by their wives about to become mothers, were driven to a neighbouring meadow, where the whole body was put to the sword in cold blood.* Meantime, the churches in which some of the miserable women hoped to find sanctuary, afforded no protection against death preceded by dishonour. Other females, in whom, either from too tender or too advanced age, the soldiery were disappointed of brutal gratification, were enclosed in a barn, and driven back by pikes, when they attempted escape from the flames in which they were eventually consumed.† Similar horrors were enacted in the pursuit of that band which had sought the mountains; for of these also the greater part, the aged and infirm, the women‡ and children drooping under fatigue, were readily overtaken. Two-and-twenty villages were levelled with the ground; 4000 of their inhabitants were massacred; and 700 of the most able-bodied peasants were reserved for galley-slaves.‡

The temper of the French nation was not yet prepared for this wholesale and atrocious butchery on account of difference of faith, and the intelligence of D'Oppeda's great wickedness was received with execrations. The king refused to admit him to his presence, but content with this single mark of dis-

* *Trucidantur ad unum ferè omnes, non viri tantum sed et mulieres pleræque gravidæ.*—Gerdesius, iv. 160.

† *Minerius etiam ad quadraginta circiter fœminas in horreum straminis atque fœni plenum includit, post ignem subjicit et incendit: cumque illæ vestibus exutis conarentur flammam nascentem restinguere, neque possent, ad majorem fenestram, quâ fœnum recondi solet in horreum, advolant, ut æse ejiciant. Sed ibi repulsæ telis et hastis conflagnarunt omnes.*—Id. *ibid.*

‡ *Erant mulieres quingentæ.*—Id. *ibid.*

§ Camararius, *Hist. Fratrum in Bohemiâ et Moraviâ* is cited by Gerdesius as an authority for these horrors. We have depended mainly upon Gerdesius himself, Garnier, the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.*, and De Thou, vi. 15. Fra Paola has boldly denounced the massacre in the II^d book of his *Hist. del Concilio Tridentino*.

pleasure, forbade any judicial inquiry into his conduct. The last year of this reign was again sullied with numerous brutal executions at Meaux,* and the death of Francis, therefore, whom the Reformed now justly esteemed a confirmed persecutor, was far from occasioning regret; especially March 31, 1547. since in his son and successor, Henry II., a prince of less active habits, they expected a more lenient master. But the hands to which Henry, from his very accession, committed the administration of his power, were most hostile to the Reformed principles.

Few houses in Europe were more illustrious than that of Lorraine. Drawing their remote origin from times beyond memorial, they numbered among their ancestors, in the paternal line, Godfrey, the first king of Jerusalem; and, by the mother's side, they were descended from a daughter of Charlemagne. Claude, a young brother of that family, having passed into the service of Louis XII., so far ingratiated himself with that monarch, and afterward with his son, Francis I., that he obtained the erection of his estate of Guise into a duchy;† but the favour of the second reign was not of long endurance, and the latter days of Claude were passed in disgrace. His son Francis, a gallant and accomplished prince, bold, enterprising, and ambitious, had won the affections of Henry by his skill in bodily exercises, and his agreeable talents for companionship. The marriage of one of his brothers, the Duke d'Elbœuf, to a daughter of the royal mistress, Diana, Duchess of Valentinois, materially strengthened the interests of this aspiring family; and when the bond became more strongly knit by the admission into the royal councils of Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, the most crafty and politic spirit of his time, the threefold

* A full account of them may be found cited by Gerdesius, iv. 163, from the *Acta et Monumenta Martyrum*.

† In 1527.

cord was in truth not easily to be broken. An alliance with the royal house itself, within a few years from the point at which we have now arrived, was to give increased consolidation to a power already too swollen for that of subjects: and when their niece,* Mary, Queen of Scots, bestowed her hand upon the Dauphin Francis, the brothers of Guise might be deemed virtual kings of France. There can be little doubt that all their sagacity and vigilance were thenceforward directed to the discovery of some favourable moment, at which the narrow line, still separating them from titular royalty, might be safely overleaped. But the Reformed, deeply suffering from the bitterness of persecution with which they had been visited, especially by the Cardinal of Lorraine, watched their course with a keenly jealous observance; and to the political hatred which soon mingled itself with religious differences, may be traced the ultimate failure of the Guises, no less than the long train of bitter calamities which France was doomed to suffer from intestine discord.†

* Daughter of their sister, Mary of Lorraine, queen of James V. of Scotland.

† The early history of the family of Guise, and of their position in the French court, is very lucidly given in the 1st book of Davilla. Antony Colynet, who in 1591 wrote, or rather translated, *The true History of the Civill Warres of France, between the French King, Henry the IVth. and the Leaguers*, does not speak of the house of Lorraine with all the respect which it deserves. "Claude of Lorraine," he says, "came into France in a manner, with a wallet and a staffe; that is to say, a beggarly gentleman in comparison with the great revenues which hee and his heirs had afterwards in France." "He began to growe by crouching, and capping, and double diligence." The cardinals of Guise and of Lorraine are contemptuously described as "two massing priests." The great ascendancy of the brothers, however, is narrated with much truth. "In his time, (that of Francis II.) they disposed of all things after their owne willes. For the king sawe nothing but by their eyes, heard nothing but by their mouthes, did nothing but by their hands; so that there remained nothing but onely the wearing of the crowne upon their owne heads, and the name of king. In this great prosperitie they lacked nothing, neither will nor meanes to attaine to their intent, but that the nobilitie of France was a perilous blocke in their way, which they could not leap over for to ascend to so great and high seate of majestie; and instead of a velvet cap to weare a crowne of pure gold."—p. 2.

The hopes of the Calvinists, perhaps, were not wholly dissipated, till the new king celebrated a public entry into his capital two years after his accession. The ceremonial was conducted ^{1549.} with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and attended by the principal nobles of the kingdom. Heralds had been previously despatched to the emperor at Brussels, where they proclaimed, that jousts would be held during fifteen days in Paris. Thither, in the names of the challengers, amongst whom it was announced, that Henry himself would appear both on foot and on horseback, they invited all knights, desirous of honour, to proceed and seek it at the appointed season. At the time of this solemnity, when the coronation also of the queen was celebrated, and a mock naval fight exhibited on the Seine, the king, surrounded by a brilliant *cortège*, held a bed of justice in his parliament; and a few days afterward, assisted at a splendid ^{July 5.} religious procession; assembled the *Notables* in one of the saloons of the palace, to take cognizance of the state of religion; and ordered the Conciergerie to be cleared that very night of all the miserable victims long since condemned for heresy, but whose execution had been specially deferred, in order that it might add another spectacle to these days of royal festivity. Four scaffolds were accordingly erected in different public places of the city; one on the Grève, one in the Place Maubert, a third in front of the porch of Nôtre Dâme, and the last on the spot recently dedicated to scenes of chivalrous pleasure in the tournaments at the Rue St. Antoine. As darkness fell, the piles blazed on high; and the king, who visited them in succession, distinguished, not without compunction, among the cries of the wretched sufferers expiring in agony, the voice of a favourite attendant of his bed-chamber.*

A more general blow against the Reformed was

* Fellibien, *Hist. de Paris*. De Thou, vi. 4.

inflicted, when Henry, jealous of the designs of Charles V. upon the duchy of Parma, espoused the cause of Octavio Farnese against the emperor and Pope Julius III. The king of France then not only protested against the re-assembling of the Council of Trent, at the opening of its new session, but marched a body of troops to ravage the ecclesiastical territories; and willing to counteract any impression that he was hostile to the church itself,

June 25, which might arise from these ambiguous
1551. acts, he issued an ordinance, *the Edict of Chateaubriand*, visiting the Sacramentarians with peculiar and unprecedented severity. By that mandate, the civil and ecclesiastical courts were instructed to co-operate for the extirpation of heresy. In order to prevent the admission of any secret favourer of the Reformed opinions to stations of authority in the law, every person applying for such appointments, was to exhibit testimonials, not only of his correct morals, but also of his undoubted orthodoxy; and, in like manner, to purge the magistracy, even in its lowest grades, from any suspected officers, secret inquiries were to be made by the chiefs into the conduct of all their inferiors, the seneschals, baillies, provosts, and their respective lieutenants, as to their strict performance of the Edict; and the higher counsellors were compelled to answer interrogatories concerning their faith, whenever proposed to them at the quarterly meetings. The most rigid examination on religious points was instituted before bestowal of academical appointments on rectors of colleges and schoolmasters; and, if in corporate towns the mayors and aldermen were incautiously chosen, the electors exposed themselves to a process as fosterers of heresy. Under that most extensive denomination were now included not only those who should give an asylum to the Reformed, or assist in any manner their escape from justice, but whoever also, after

an arrest, should venture to intercede or to present the slightest petition in behalf of a prisoner. The property of all fugitives to Protestant states was to be seized and confiscated ; and any persons who had engaged in collusive transfers by which they nominally held the estates of absent heretics, and transmitted to them the rents, were subjected to like confiscation and an additional heavy fine. The informer who could prove that any subject of France had forwarded money to Geneva, was entitled to a clear third both of the penalties and of the property. The final clause was directed against the press, that mighty engine upon which the progress of knowledge must at all times depend, and without whose aid, the zeal, courage, piety, sufferings, activity, and talents of the Reformers might ultimately have proved ineffectual. Books and pamphlets written in every vein of literature, didactic, controversial, or satirical ; gravely illustrative of Protestant doctrines, or mercilessly ridiculing the abuses of Popery, had long been forwarded from Geneva to Lyons as a central magazine. Their subsequent dispersion through the distant provinces was easily effected ; and a hope of gain from the general excitement of public curiosity, induced the booksellers of Paris, of Poitiers, and of Bordeaux, to circulate and even to reprint this attractive ware. By the Edict of Chateaubriand, the importation of every book of every sort from Geneva, or from any other town separated from the Romish communion, was prohibited under pain of fine and corporal punishment. The police of Lyons was ordered to pay frequent visits to booksellers' shops and printing offices. Printers were forbidden from working, unless on their own premises ; from issuing abroad any work without their own name and that of the author on its title-page ; from receiving any MS. of the holy scriptures, or connected with theology, unless attested by a certificate under the hands of two doc-

tors of divinity; from selling any publication not registered in a catalogue which they were bound to present to the magistrates; from opening any packet of books on its arrival from a foreign country, unless in the presence of two ecclesiastics; and from selling by auction any library without the previous inspection of authorized censors. Human ingenuity might tax itself in vain to frame a law more odious than this Edict; more oppressive or more tyrannically opposed to intellectual advancement, and therefore to the best interests of mankind.

1553. The plague was now raging in Paris, and it seemed as if it were believed that the wrath of heaven might be deprecated by human victims, so numerous were the daily offerings of heretics delivered to the stake. In other parts of the kingdom, persecution was equally active. When the Duke of Guise compelled Charles V., hitherto unaccustomed to reverse, to raise the siege of Metz, after the fruitless loss of the flower of his troops, perhaps the triumph of the victorious commander derived no small addition from a committal to the flames, by the common executioner, of every Lutheran book which he found within the walls of the city after its relief.* At Lyons far more barbarous fires were kindled, and numerous missionaries despatched by the Bernese for the conversion of that city were adjudged to the stake. Among these was a brave gentleman, Louis de Marsac, whose youth had been passed, not without distinction in arms, and whose later years found consolation in the perusal of the scriptures, a crime deemed worthy of capital punishment. When led out to execution, the prisoner observed that each of his fellow-sufferers carried a halter round his neck; an ignominy which had been spared himself, in consideration of the respect due to his military rank and services.

* De Thou, xi. 12. "This act," says Bishop Meurisse, "was performed à l'imitation du pieux Roy Ezeckias," p. 112.

Jealous, however, of his honour, and reluctant to surrender any portion, however small, of the glory of martyrdom, the undaunted veteran turned to the attendant magistrates, and asked of them, if there was any distinction between his own offence and that of his comrades? "If there be not," he added, "give me also a like collar, and enrol me in a similar order of knighthood."*

The numerous abuses existing in the Gallican Church, at the commencement of the Reformation, had eminently assisted its progress in France. The Crown had by degrees assumed to itself the patronage of almost all the great ecclesiastical preferments; and by its corrupt disposal of bishoprics and abbeys, had rendered them prizes of court favouritism instead of rewards of piety and learning. Persons most remote from spiritual habits frequently thus obtained benefices either for themselves or for their connexions; and even if they did not give occasion for scandal by open licentiousness, they deeply injured the credit of the church by total ignorance or neglect of its duties. The privilege of *Commendam* was one of the most fruitful sources of disorder. In the earlier christian church, whenever a hostile irruption, a famine, or any other public calamity, had so far diminished the revenues of an Episcopal see, or a religious house, as to render them insufficient for the support of its ordinary head, the metropolitan *recommended* the pastoral charge to some neighbouring ecclesiastic, who accepted the additional burden gratuitously, till a more favourable season permitted a re-establishment of the suspended dignity. It is easy to perceive how this charitable custom, at first so praiseworthy, degenerated in times less pure into abuse. The chief revenues of the cardinals, whom the duties of the sacred college detained in permanent abode at Rome, were at first derived from prebends or other

* De Thou, xii, 13.

benefices without cure of souls; but ambition and avarice gradually fostered the desire of exalted station and overflowing coffers, and by the perversion of *Commendams*, the richest sees were often accumulated in plurality upon ecclesiastics by whom they could never be visited. The convenient license thus assumed by the court of Rome was not likely to be long unimitated by secular princes; and, in France, the wealthiest benefices were abundantly showered down upon those, whose connexion with the blood royal, or whose cabinet duties as ministers of state, attached them to the court; even women were admitted as *Evêques Laïcs*,* and either sold their bishoprics or provided substitutes, or *Custodines*† as they were termed, to perform the clerical offices for the least possible stipend. Similar abuses prevailed among the inferior clergy; and dispensations were so readily accorded, that, unless in rare instances, the population at large lived either without any pastors at all, or with curates unworthy of the name. Religion, therefore, was sought for in vain, and its place was usurped by ignorance and superstition.

A reform of these grievous temporal abuses, preached boldly by men who announced also a more enlightened spiritual doctrine, which they asserted in despite of bonds, persecution, and death, and who maintained their purity of teaching by a correspondent purity of life, was certain to obtain zealous partizans; especially when it was opposed, not by argument but by arms; combated only by the sword of the law and the terror of punishment. In vain was the scaffold deluged with the blood of unnumbered martyrs! It became, as has been powerfully said elsewhere, the seed of the church, springing

* *Description de l'Isle des Hermaphrodites*; *Journal d'Henri III.* iv. 53.

† Roze, bishop of Senlis, who administered his diocese by a *Custodine*, is called *Eveque portatif*, in the *Satyre Menippée*, i. 77. and, in the *Remarques*, *Eveque volant* is said to be an equivalent expression.

up to abundant harvest, and bearing a return, some sixty, some a hundred-fold. In vain were the tongues of confessors torn out before they were dragged to execution, in order to prevent their dying words from awakening sympathy! They being dead yet spake; and their speech was as the voice of a trumpet. Day by day and the Reformation imbedded itself more firmly in France, and secretly or openly a very large proportion of the population embraced its doctrines.

Hitherto, nevertheless, the Calvinists, as we must for the present call them, were but isolated individuals, without a focus and point of union; but their power, even while thus disjointed, had been sufficiently revealed in many separate struggles, especially in those occurring at Metz; and they could not long remain blind to the great benefit which would be derived from co-operation. It

was in 1555 that the first avowed French Church, on the principles of the Reformation, was established at Paris, by a number of proselytes, for some time accustomed to assemble for worship in a house in an obscure quarter of the Fauxbourg St. Germain. The chief of this little band was named Ferriere Maligni,* a gentleman of ancient extraction and large possessions in Maine. His anxiety to obtain baptism administered otherwise than after the ritual of that communion which he had abandoned, for an infant of which his wife was pregnant, induced him to organize a body approaching to the model of Geneva, and consisting of a minister, deacons, and elders. The example was followed during the same year at Meaux, at Poitiers, at Angiers, and at L'Isle d'Alvert in Saintonge; and so rapidly were these religious associations multiplied in other places—partly indeed by the connivance of magistrates who in secret were their friends—that in the single

* Brother-in-law of the Vidame de Chartres. Garnier, xv. 137.

district of Orleans, six churches were founded before the expiration of the two following years. Great was the stability derived from these fixed and permanent institutions; for hitherto spiritual duties had been administered only by casual pastors; by itinerant missionaries from Geneva, ranging in small numbers over a large circuit, hastily disappearing at the first alarm, and leaving their flocks untended in moments of terror and of peril. The churches now erected, although wholly independent upon each other, maintained a cordial and uninterrupted mutual communication; ramified widely on all sides; and by deputing from themselves a fitting minister to every congregation which had the will and the ability to support one, ensured new strength to the parent stock by every fresh branch which germinated from its bosom.

Nor was it in France only that the French Reformed hoped for establishment. Their sect, proscribed in the old world, sought for dominion in the new; and the brilliant hope might have been gratified but for the treachery of a hypocrite by whom they were deceived and betrayed. Nicolas Durand, of Villegagnon, a knight of Malta and vice-admiral of Britany, had been much employed in naval services on the coast of Brazil,* with the localities of which he had thus become well acquainted; and stimulated equally by avarice and by ambition,† he thought to build his fortune on the patronage of one often to be mentioned with distinction in the following pages, Gaspard de Coligny, Admiral of France.

That nobleman's attachment to the Reformed Doctrines, although not yet publicly avowed, was a matter of sufficient notoriety; and Durand obtained his

* Durand had shown great skill also by eluding an English fleet which might have stopped the passage of the young Queen Mary, when the Scots, in 1548, resolved that she should be conveyed from her own turbulent country to France. De Thou, v. 15.

† *Gloriæ studio et, ut quidam aiunt, ingenti parandarum divitiarum ardore incitatus.* De Thou, xvi. 15.

confidence by offering to plant a Protestant colony on the shores of South America. Coligny ardently embraced the project ; and having represented to the king in general terms, with a careful avoidance of his particular object, the probable great commercial advantages which must result from an establishment in that country, he obtained both the royal permission, and also funds sufficient for his purpose. Durand, in assembling his band of emigrants, took especial care to secure, so far as prudence allowed, a great majority of Protestants ; and before the close of 1555 he disembarked 300 settlers on an island in the Rio de Janeiro. The first advices which he transmitted home announced success in glowing language ; and his applications for more colonists, for marriageable women, and, above all, for two discreet and active ministers, were received with avidity by Calvin and the Synod of Geneva. Missionaries cheerfully volunteered on a service so hopeful and alluring ; and it was not until they landed on a barren and burning soil, which, although affording but scanty means of uncertain subsistence, and scarcely extending a mile in circumference, had been dignified by the vanity of the adventurers with the swollen title of Antartic France, that their dreams of peace, liberty, and abundance, were dissipated : nor was it till they had experienced, first the carelessness and opposition, afterward the cruelty and persecution of Durand, that they discovered his object to be unconnected with purity of religion. In his *real* design he had amply succeeded : the admiral's influence and money had given him footing in America, and for the rest, it was now his interest to espouse the opposite party. Harassed by his tyranny and intolerance, the disappointed ministers and many of their flock asked permission to return to Europe. It was readily accorded ; but the vessel provided for their passage was so little sea-worthy, that part of them feared to sail in her, and those

who confided more willingly in the mercy of the elements than in that of their oppressor, nearly perished by famine from want of sufficient stores. At length, on touching at Hennebon, in Britany, they delivered to the magistrates of that town a sealed packet, which Durand had informed them would insure protection and hospitality at whatever French port they might first land. These *Litteræ Bellerophonæ*, however, in truth denounced the bearers as heretics, and commended them to the secular arm. Fortunately for the unsuspecting messengers of their own destruction, the authorities at Hennebon favoured the Reformation, and disclosed the perfidy of Durand to the miserable and exhausted fugitives. Ere the lapse of many years, his wickedness encountered just retribution. His numbers, greatly weakened both by the departure of this persecuted band, and by his rule of blood over those who remained, were insufficient to withstand the attacks of the jealous Portuguese. During his absence in quest of reinforcements, the island was captured, the fort which he had erected was destroyed; and Rio de Janeiro, which, to adopt the opinion of the modern historian of Brazil, but for the treachery of Villegagnon to his own party, would probably have been at this day the capital of a French colony, was wrested from its undeserving possessors shortly after its attainment.*

Meantime, the embarrassed political state of France, under the weak sway of Henry II., and the alarm and distraction which succeeded the memorable defeat of St. Quentin, removed the public attention for a short period from the increasing strength of Protestantism, and enabled its now organized

* Southey, *Hist. of Brazil*, i. 291, where this expedition is related, mainly on the authority of Jean de Lery, one of the Reformed adventurers, who returned home. De Thou, who has narrated Durand's attempt with much particularity, very highly commends Lery's account. *Hanc navigationem Leryus, simul et regionis naturam ac mores gentis, summâ fide ac simplicitate descripsit. Ut sup.*

church to strike root deeply, and with firmness. It was not until two years after the establishment of a congregation in a meeting-house so publicly situated as to be immediately fronting the Sorbonne, that its frequenters, amounting to more than 400 persons, attracted any marked popular attention. During the panic, however, arising from the recent loss of the great battle just mentioned, ^{1557.} the concourse of this large assembly of both sexes and of all classes, one evening at an unusual hour, to hear a sermon and to celebrate the Lord's Supper, excited suspicion in the neighbourhood. The inhabitants of that quarter of the city rose in arms, beset the meeting-house, and when the Calvinists opened its doors, at the close of their worship, in order to retire, attacked them with volleys of stones. A general tumult ensued; a few of the Reformed, drawing their swords, cut their way through the infuriated rabble; and the remainder, less courageous, endeavoured to defend themselves within the meeting-house, which they barricaded, till the arrival of the police freed them for awhile from danger. The officers took possession of a large and well-lighted apartment, down the centre of which were arranged some wooden benches round a long table covered with linen cloths; and close to the side walls were spread a few mattresses, as an accommodation for those persons who resided too distantly to permit them to return home at an advanced hour of night. But great indeed was the astonishment of the directing magistrate, when amid the congregation he perceived numerous persons of distinction, and, especially, certain ladies of the palace and maids of honour to the queen. Willing to spare his female prisoners the shame and, perhaps, the danger of open exposure to a fierce and licentious mob, he took all the precautions in his power for their safety. But his escort proved too weak; and it was not until after the endurance of grievous insults and

great violence, so that the hoods of the women were rudely torn from their faces, and all suffered indiscriminately from blows and showers of mud, that they were lodged in the Châtelet. Pains were taken, during their imprisonment before trial, to spread abroad the most atrocious calumnies respecting the objects of their meeting. The nameless crimes which, from the first ages of the church, have been imputed to those whom peril has compelled to employ secrecy in their assemblies, were again revived; and the innocent mattresses found in the meeting-house were cited even from the pulpit as damning proofs of the unspeakable guilt of the prisoners.* A judge, of broken character, Musnier by name, concealing himself at the moment from a process of subornation and perjury, solicited the odious post of public accuser;† and the suspension of the suit against him was the price which he was to receive for his labour of bitterness and hatred. In a few days he expedited the legal forms against the accused, and pursuing his task with the ardour of one who felt that his own immunity was to be purchased by their destruction, he succeeded in obtaining a sentence which brought five of his victims to the stake. The friends of the remaining prisoners, and of the few who had escaped, drew up a bold *Apology* addressed to the king, but intended for the public. It received many answers from the zeal of the Sorbonne; and among them one not to be forgotten, of which the author was Cenalis, Bishop of Avranches. That learned prelate entered into “a

* *Ils adjoustoient, pour mieux orner ce mensonge, qu'il y avoit des Nonnains et des Moines; tant ces bons Religieux de la Papauté se sont acquis bonne reputation de sainteté, que s'il se fait quelque compte de paillardise et d'infamie il faut qu'ils soient de la partie.*—*Hist. des Egl. Ref.* tom. i. liv. ii. p. 120.

† “Having knowingly admitted a false witness against a gentleman of the Countess of Senignan, by which means he had sentenced that poor gentleman to be hanged.” Laval, *Hist. of the Ref. and of the Ref. Churches in France*, i. 90. This villany is related at length by Henri Estienne, in his *Apologie pour Hérodote*, vol. i. part ii. c. 17, p. 375.

marvellous pleasant disputation"* concerning the signs of the true church; presupposing that, even without the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments, there were certain outward signs by which a true and false church might be distinguished from each other. The signs of our church, says this acute reasoner, are bells, by which we are summoned to mass; the signs of the heretics are pistols and muskets, which they discharge during their meetings. He then wantons and luxuriates through a protracted antithesis of the opposite qualities of these visible testimonies. Bells, he says, with a play upon the words which it is difficult to render, sound in unison, muskets in confusion;† bells explode musically, muskets terrifically; the former open Heaven, the latter Hell; these disperse storms and lightning, those gather clouds and mimic thunder. In spite of this logic, the elector palatine and the Protestant cantons interceded for the prisoners; and since the state of his external relations was too dangerous to permit Henry to run the hazard of awakening new foreign enemies, he dissembled, and consented to their enlargement.

It was no longer then among the obscure or middle classes only that the spirit of the Reformation was to be sought; it had reared its head in high places also; and the court and the nobles of France were beginning to be divided among themselves on the great question of religious faith. Of the two royal houses of Valois and Bourbon, both descended from St. Louis, the former was now in possession of the crown; the latter, although depressed by Francis I., in consequence of the well known treason of its head, the constable, enjoyed all the privileges of princes of the blood; and its present representatives, Antony, Duke of Vendôme, (who by

* This "*dispute merveilleusement plaisante*" is noticed in the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 125.

† *Les cloches sonnent, les harquebuses tonnent.*

marriage with Jeanne D'Albret had become titular king of Navarre) and his brother Louis, Prince of Condé, may be named as the most illustrious of those who inclined to the Protestant doctrines.* The king of Navarre was a man of easy temper and vacillating conduct, quickly alarmed, indolent, and devoted to pleasure. The prince of Condé, on the other hand, was bold, hardy, daring, and adventurous. His marriage with a niece of the Admiral Coligny† cemented a union between the two families, and brought him in contact with the Reformed : and while the king of Navarre, floating loosely on the tide of scepticism, was for ever tossed about by some new wave of doubt, and lived and died in suspense between the two creeds, the prince of Condé devoted all the influence of his exalted rank, all his physical energies, and all his great powers of intellect, to the support of the holy cause which he ultimately adopted with his inmost heart.

1558. The nuptials of the Dauphin Francis with Mary Queen of Scots had summoned a brilliant assembly to Paris, and the Bourbons, for a long time unused to bask in royal favour, and therefore, so far as the necessary obligations of their rank permitted, avoiding the chill atmosphere of the court whose sunshine was eclipsed to them, attended

* Antony and Louis were sons of Charles, Duke of Vendôme, head of the Bourbons after the death of the constable at the sack of Rome. Antony succeeded to the crown of Navarre on the death of his father-in-law, Henry d'Albret, in 1555.

† The Princess of Condé was Eleanor de Roye, daughter of Magdelaine de Mailly, a sister of the Admiral Coligny. This union connected the Bourbons with the house of the constable, Anne Montmorency, also ; for the mother of the Colignys was Louise of that family. The spirit of Montmorency doubted, for a time, between the two religions ; but at length he united himself, as we shall see hereafter, with the Romanists. Perhaps he might, in some measure, be influenced by a mistaken belief that the corrupt Popery of his own time was the same pure christianity which his ancestors had adopted in the days of Pharamond ; and which, as their descendant, he was bound to maintain. It was the proud boast of the house of Montmorency to trace themselves from the first Frank who received baptism ; a tradition, attested by their motto, *Deus primum Christianum servet !* Davila, lib. i. Ed. Venet. 1733, fol. tom. i. p. 10.

the festivities, much more in compliance with etiquette than from inclination. No sooner had the king withdrawn from his capital, after the conclusion of the spectacles, than these princes, with their consorts, resorted to the Protestant congregations. Urged by the fiery zeal of Calvin, who in frequent letters had reproached them with cowardice and pusillanimity, the Reformed ministers were then preparing to astonish all France by a bold avowal of their proscribed and persecuted faith. The princes of the blood were prevailed upon to accompany a solemn procession through the Faubourg St. Germain, in which nearly 4000 of the Reformed chanted, at the fullest pitch of voice, the Psalms of Marot, and paraded during several hours under the protection of a numerous escort of armed gentlemen. When intelligence of this singular exhibition was conveyed to the king, great pains were taken to impress upon him that it was but part of a general conspiracy on the eve of explosion. But the high rank of the chief parties concerned deterred him from proceeding farther, at the moment, than ordering his parliament to prosecute inquiries and receive informations, and threatening capital punishment for any similar outrage.*

One step indeed he took in his perplexity, little justified either by prudence or by the immediate circumstances. Francis de Coligny, Sieur d'Andelot, although more boldly avowing the principles of Calvinism than his brother the Admiral, had not joined in this procession. On visiting his estate in Brittany, however, a province as yet less imbued than any other with the Reformed doctrines, he had been accompanied by a Protestant minister, who preached and administered the communion in the house of his patron, and assisted him in laying the foundation of more than one Calvinistic Church. The king, unwilling wholly to overlook this open

* De Thou, xx. 15.

defiance of law, was equally unwilling to expose himself to a breach with the powerful family of Coligny; and perhaps, as a consequence, with that of Montmorency also; and he therefore mildly invited D'Anselot to court, in order that he might hear his justification, and thus silence his accusers. For that purpose he informed beforehand, both the Cardinal de Chastillon another brother of D'Anselot, and a Montmorency his cousin, of the precise questions which he designed to ask, in order that time might be afforded for the preparation of suitable replies; and he added, that without pursuing the investigation more deeply, he should be content with a simple disavowal. That disavowal, however, was not easily to be wrung from the single-hearted, spotless, and sincere D'Anselot; and it was in vain that his brother and his cousin exhausted their casuistry to persuade the gallant and high-minded soldier, who coveted the glorious title *sans reproche*, to violate his honour and offend his conscience. The king, during a familiar conversation at supper, reminded him of the long and sincere attachment subsisting between them; how numerous were the favours bestowed on the one hand, how great the services performed on the other. At the same time, he expressed a profound conviction, that one whom he so cordially loved, never could be found in the ranks of his enemies, lending himself to the rebellious stratagems of a turbulent and illegal sect. Still, he continued, as some strange reports to the contrary had been whispered, it would be advisable that he should make a declaration of his opinions concerning the mass. To this request D'Anselot calmly replied, that the remembrance of the king's exceeding grace and bounty was so deeply impressed upon his heart that he could not sufficiently display his gratitude, even if he expended his last drop of blood in the royal service; to which he had vowed to devote his sword, his body, and his life. Never-

theless, that his soul belonged to God, its giver; that having providentially been enlightened by the Gospel, and believing that he had discovered truth in that very creed which his majesty persecuted blindly and without inquiry, he should think himself unworthy to live if he lied before his conscience and his king. And, finally, that since he was compelled to explain himself concerning the mass, he did not hesitate to declare that he considered it to be a horrible profanation. The king, little prepared for this uncompromising rejection of his overtures, and indignant at having lavished so much gentleness upon one who thus boldly defied his authority, hastily breaking up the table, seized a dish, and while intending to vent his anger by shattering it on the ground, unintentionally struck the Dauphin, who sat next him, a severe blow. He then committed the offender to the prison of the Bishop of Meaux, and deprived him of his high office of colonel-in-chief of the French infantry.*

A short period of reflection, however, convinced the king of the impolicy of these extreme measures; and he wrote with his own hand to the constable Montmorency an account of the provocation which he had received from his kinsman, entreating him at the same time to be at ease, for that all was pardoned; and in testimony of his intended mercy, he removed the prisoner from the Episcopal custody, in which he was in some measure exposed to the grasp of the Inquisition, to a much less formidable confinement in the castle of Melun. During his imprisonment in that fortress, D'Andelot's hours were chiefly devoted to reading; and Brantôme, from whom we derive this information, is greatly scandalized, that he was permitted to receive all kinds of books indiscriminately without previous search. The Inquisition, he tells us, was by no

* *Quæ dignitas maximum in militiâ nostrâ momentum habet.* De Thou xx. 10. *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* tom. i. p. 143, &c.

means so strict as it proved afterward, and every here and there people might learn the new religion. Then breaking out into that which we imagine is a denouncement of letters in general, "See," he exclaims, "what are the fruits of leisure and of idleness! how readily do they teach all evil matters, of which the wages is repentance."*

It was in vain that Paul IV., who received with delight intelligence of the first vigorous commencement of this quarrel, extolled the king's piety, and the self-sacrifice which he had offered up. "What," said the Pontiff, kindling with his theme, and snuffing the fumes of an approaching holocaust, "what is fitting on such occasions but to leap on the neck of the criminal, and to burn him alive on the spot!"† The royal ambassador, to whom these words were addressed, humbly represented that justice in France did not travel with footsteps thus rapid, especially when the fate of one so illustrious as D'Andelot was to be decided. Meantime, the wiles of the tempter were put in force, instead of the fires of the executioner. Rusé, confessor to the king, a doctor fully accomplished in the logic of the Sorbonne, (as his name might seem to imply, if we were inclined to play upon it,) was instructed to wind himself into the confidence of the prisoner, and to sap that firmness which despised all menace and repelled every open attack. The tears of a beloved wife and the remonstrances of the admiral, who earnestly adjured his brother to dissemble, after his own manner, till the arrival of a better season, at length prevailed, and D'Andelot so far yielded as to permit the celebration of mass in his cell. The gates of the prison were thrown open to him immediately on the conclusion of that service; but never did his high-toned spirit cease to reproach itself with that which it regarded as a weak, guilty, and dishonourable compliance. This lenity of the king dis-

* Tom. vii. p. 385. Disc. lxxxix. 7.

† Garnier, xiv. 251.

concerted and irritated the bigoted Romanists; and not long afterward, when the parliament brought the suspended process against the corrupt Judge Musnier to conclusion, and condemned him on the clearest evidence to the pillory and to banishment, the populace, attributing his sentence to the zeal which he had recently testified in prosecuting the Reformed unto death, rose in a body when he was brought out for punishment, and prevented its execution. Two similar tumults soon afterward occurred; in one a thief was rescued from the gallows because he was a Romanist; in the other, a miserable Calvinist was, in like manner, torn from the hands of the magistrates—not that his life might be preserved, but that he might expire under the protracted agonies inflicted by a ferocious rabble.

Yet even in these moments of great peril, while the madness of the people was raging, while the kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers took counsel together against the Reformed, the Calvinists of France had sufficient wisdom to provide for the unity of their church by drawing up a confession of faith and canons of discipline. Animated by holy courage, and confident in God, they convoked their first national synod for those purposes, in the metropolis of the kingdom, and at the very doors of the court.* Over this memorable assembly, which commenced on the 20th of May, 1559, and continued its session until the 28th of the same month,† Francis de Morel, Sieur de Callonges, presided, assisted by the deputies of eleven churches.‡ A confession was promulgated, consisting of XV. distinct articles, in which the following particulars are

* In the Fauxbourg St. Germain.

† De Thou mistakes the date of this synod, and places it after the arrest of the five counsellors, on the 28th of June, iv. *Kal. Quintil.* (xxii. 10.) To the courage of those who assembled he bears ample testimony, *spreto certæ necis metu.*

‡ Dieppe, St. Loo, Paris, Angiers, Orleans, Tours, Chastelherault Poitiers, Xaintes, St. Jean d'Angeli, and Marennes.

some of the most important. The canon of Scripture agrees with that admitted by the Church of England, and the Apocryphal books, although not mentioned by name, are alluded to much after the manner of our own VIth article. (Art. IV.) The Apostles' Creed, together with the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, are allowed "because they be agreeable to the word of God." (Art. V.) The trinity in unity, the distinction of the three persons, the begetting of the Son, and the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son jointly, are declared to be taught by Scripture. (Art. VI.) The perplexed question of free-will is discreetly avoided, and the doctrine of God's providence is treated in cautious and sensible language. (Art. VIII.) An acknowledgment of the creation of Adam pure and upright, conformably to God's image; of his fall and consequent entire corruption (Art. IX. ;) of the burthen of original sin thus entailed upon his offspring (Art. X. ;) "so that even the choicest of God's saints, although they do resist it, yet are they defiled with very many sins and offences so long as they live in this world" (Art. XI. ;) leads the way to the following account of election, "We believe that out of this general corruption and condemnation in which all men are plunged, God doth deliver them whom He hath in His eternal and unchangeable counsel chosen, of His mere goodness and mercy, through our Lord Jesus Christ, without any consideration of their works, leaving the rest in their sins and damnable estate, that He may show forth in them His justice, as in the elect He doth most illustriously declare the riches of His mercy. For one is not better than another until such time as God doth make the difference, according to His unchangeable purpose, which He hath determined in Jesus Christ before the creation of the world. Nor can any one by his own power procure unto himself so great a blessing; because we cannot by nature,

nor of ourselves, excite in ourselves any one good motion, thought, or affection, until such time as God does prevent and incline us to it by His grace." (Art. XII.) Christ alone requisite to salvation (Art. XIII. ;) the union of God and man in His person in opposition to the diabolical imagination of Servetus (Art. XIV. ;) justification by faith; and the abandonment of all human merit, are next unequivocally professed (Art. XX.) All mediation but that of Christ is peremptorily rejected (Art. XXIV. ;) the nature of our Lord is examined (Arts. XXV., XXVI., XXVII. ;) and the claims of Rome to the title of a true church, are summarily dismissed; "yet nevertheless, because there is yet some small track of a church in the Papacy, and that baptism, as to its substance, hath been still continued; and because the efficacy of baptism doth not depend upon him who doth administer it, we confess that they which are there baptized do not need a second baptism. In the meanwhile, because of the corruptions which are mingled with the administration of that sacrament, no man can present his children to be baptized in that church without polluting of his conscience." (Art. XXVIII.) The Calvinistic platform is then affirmed to agree with "that discipline which the Lord Jesus has established." (Art. XXIX.) The equality of all churches is asserted (Art. XXX. ;) and, in the articles which succeed, a faint apology is offered for the breach of Apostolical succession into which Geneva is said to have been compulsorily driven. (Art. XXXI.) Then, after an explanation of the sacraments, the confession terminates with the following articles on political obedience;—articles which it might be thought would have rendered any government, however suspicious, confident of the fidelity, the submissiveness, and the desire to seek peace which must have animated the breast of every one who subscribed the document in which they were contained.

“We believe that God will have the world to be ruled by laws and civil government, that there may be some sort of bridles by which the unruly lusts of the world may be restrained; and, that, therefore, He appointed kingdoms, commonwealths, and other kinds of principalities, whether hereditary or otherwise. And not that alone, but also whatsoever pertaineth to the ministration of justice, whereof He avoucheth himself the author; therefore, hath He even delivered the sword into the magistrate’s hand, so that sins committed against both the tables of God’s law, not only against the second but the first also, may be suppressed. And therefore, because God is the author of this order, we must not only suffer magistrates whom He hath set over us, but we must also give them all honour and reverence, as unto His officers and lieutenants, which have received their commission from Him to exercise so lawful and sacred a function.” (Art. XXXIX.)

“Therefore, we affirm that obedience must be yielded unto their laws and statutes, that tribute must be paid to them, taxes and all other duties, and that we must bear the yoke of subjection with a free and willing mind, although the magistrates be infidels; so that the sovereign government of God be preserved entire. Wherefore we detest all those who do reject the higher powers, and would bring in a community and confusion of goods, and subvert the course of justice.” (Art. XL.)

On the canons of discipline it is not requisite that we should dwell; they regulate the appointment of church officers according to the well known general Calvinistic model: and, in those articles which regard the laity, they occasionally exhibit somewhat of that spirit of encroachment on private rights and personal liberty of action which distinguishes all sects derived from the fountain of Geneva. Thus ministers and all other members of the church are forbidden from “printing their own, or other

works concerning religion, or in any wise publishing them till they have first communicated them unto two or more, of the Gospel, of unspotted reputation." (Art. XXVIII. "The faithful whose yoke-fellows are convict of adultery, shall be advised to reconcile themselves with them; but in case of refusal, that liberty they have by the word of God shall be declared to them. However none of the churches shall dissolve the marriage, lest they should intrench upon the authority of the civil magistrate." (Art. XXXVII.) "No person may contract marriage without the consent of parents; but in case parents should be so unreasonable as to refuse their consent to such a holy and needful ordinance, the consistory shall advise what is to be done herein." (Art. XXXVIII.) "Promises of marriage once made cannot be dissolved, no, not by mutual consent of the parties who have past those promises to each other; and the consistory of that church where those persons are members, shall judge of the lawfulness of those promises." (Art. XXXIX.)

In the decisions of the synod upon the cases of conscience submitted to it, we meet the same prudent and peaceable deference to rulers and the powers that be, which characterize the articles already cited. "Our brother of St. John d'Angely demanding, whether the faithful might lawfully suffer their children's names to be recorded in the registers of Popish priests? It was answered, That because it was a civil ordinance of his majesty, the minister and consistories should specially observe the design and end of him that doth it, and admonish him that he be very careful lest thereby he be taken for a Papist." (Art. VIII.) "As to what was proposed by our brother of St. Loo, we answer, That notwithstanding the Popish priests do unjustly claim a right to tithes upon the account of their ministry, yet they must be payed, because of the king's commandment, as a matter in itself in-

different, and that sedition and scandal may be avoided.”* (Art. XVI.) Well would it be if the Quakers had profited by the lesson afforded them in this last decision of the wiser Calvinists, and had learned to avoid the silly and troublesome subterfuge by which they elude the direct payment of government dues!

CHAPTER III.

Dissensions in the Parliament of Paris—The Mercuriales—Presence of the King—Speeches of Dufaur and Dubourg—Their arrest—Process against Dubourg—His condemnation—Death of Henry II.—Supplication of the Reformed to Catherine de Medicis—Dubourg’s appeal—His firmness—Denouncements of the Reformed—Assassination of Minart—Execution of Dubourg—Outrages in Paris—Weakness of the King of Navarre—The Prince of Condé avows his conversion—Calvinistic doctrine of Passive obedience—Its sophistical resolution—Condé becomes virtual Chief of the Reformed—La Renaudie—The King’s journey to Blois—Frightful reports preceding it.

THIS solemn meeting of the Reformed, and the provisions for organization which emanated from it, could not have occurred more seasonably; for a blow was about to be struck which, but for the strength derived from union, might have proved fatal. Among the several chambers of the parliament of Paris† little agreement existed relative to the punishment of heretics. The grand chamber‡ invariably con-

* In this and our following accounts of other synods of the French Reformed Church, we have relied upon the voluminous documents given by Quick in his laborious and invaluable compilation, *Synodicon in Galliâ Reformatâ*.

† The parliament of Paris is briefly described by Castelnau to be “an illustrious assembly of 130 judges, attended by above 300 advocates.”—*Mem. b. i. c. 4*. The ordinary edicts of the inferior magistrates, and even the royal ordinances, were without force till registered by this powerful body. There were seven parliaments in France during the reign of Henry II. (Henault *ad ann.* 1559.) Mr. Hallam has ably compressed much information respecting the parliament of Paris into a narrow compass. *Middle Ages*, i. 202. 7.

‡ *La Cour des Pers (i. e. des Pères) de France*.—*Mém. de Condé*, i. 218.

demned to the flames the delinquents cited before its tribunal; the court called *La Tournelle* on the other hand, was not less anxious to discover subterfuges by which means of escape might be opened. On one occasion, four students of irreproachable life and morals, but zealous Calvinists, having been condemned to death by the inferior courts, appealed to the Tournelle. The president, eager to avoid a confirmation of the horrible sentence, and having failed to procure from the culprits any disavowal of the charge, warned them to be cautious and reserved in answering the interrogatories which he was about to propose. He then questioned them on many doctrinal points in which but slight shades of difference existed between the Reformed and the Romanists; and, finally, as the most trying point of all, he inquired their opinion of the real presence in the Eucharist. Placed on their guard by his previous advice, the prisoners contented themselves with replying that they admitted a real presence, without proceeding to explain the distinction between the corporal presence of the Papists and the symbolical presence of Calvin. The major part of the judges appeared satisfied; the court would have broken up, and the former sentence would have been reversed, if one member, more difficult than his brethren, had not asked whether the culprits were willing to assist at mass. They answered unhesitatingly in the negative; and the president foreseeing that if they were called upon to state their reasons they must be utterly lost, demanded their explanation in writing, and gave them twenty-four hours to prepare it. Even this merciful artifice, however, was wholly unavailing. The accused, preferring integrity of conscience to life purchased by apostacy, shook off the proffered clemency as though it were pollution; and their answer when presented to the court at its next meeting, was found to contain one of the bitterest invectives against the mass which had hitherto appeared.

Nevertheless, even with this unexpected document before them, the judges persevered in mercy. They decreed that the law had pronounced capital punishment against those Sacramentarians only who denied the real presence; that the pain of death therefore did not extend to the prisoners who had admitted that doctrine; and that their offence being no more than a want of reverence for the mass, banishment would be a sufficient penalty.

The prisoners were accordingly released, happy in their exile; but the public voice loudly condemned this new interpretation of the law. The very existence of such a crime as heresy, it said, was abolished by the recent sentence; Zuinglius, Bucer, Ecolampadius, nay, even Calvin himself, might now propagate his blasphemies with impunity; all former executions on account of religion were rendered manifestly unjust; and the magistrates who had pronounced capital sentence must be stigmatized as murderers of the innocent.* This dissension between the two chambers was represented to the king as utterly destructive of the foundations of all jurisprudence; if one judge pronounced that to be criminal which another affirmed to be innocent, of what avail was any code of law? Where was the security of either the government or the governed? or what man of any degree or condition possessed a sure rule of life whereby his course might be regulated? Some of the counsellors, it was artfully stated, were themselves tainted with the heresy, the propagators of which they absolved; and the king, at the approaching assembly of the next *Mercuriales*,† might have a favourable opportunity of receiving

* One of the chief accusers of the Tournelle was Bourdin, the king's *Procureur-General*, who is described as, *docte, ayant beaucoup de Lettres des Gentils, mais peu ou nulles des Chrétiens, et des œuvres encore moins.*—*Mém. de Condé*, i. 219.

† The constitution of the *Mercuriales* is fully explained by De Thou, xxii. 10, from whom we have given enough in the text to answer the immediate purpose. See also *Mém. de Condé*, i. 218.

conviction to that effect by the testimony of his own ears. A censorship, it appears, had long existed, the members of which assembled on a Wednesday (*Dies Mercurii*) at an interval of every three months; when the presidents of the two chambers, and of the several courts emanating from them, and a deputation from the counsellors, met together with the attorney-general and the king's advocate, to review the public and private conduct of the several magistrates; to bring it, if necessary, before the cognizance of the whole parliament, and there to institute legal proceedings against offending members. It was on the 10th of June that the sitting of the ensuing *Mercuriales* occurred; and a debate then commenced on the recent sentences, and on the general treatment of the Reformed. In this discussion, much heat and violence were exhibited, and purposely fomented by the president Le Maistre, a zealous Romanist.* At a moment in which the irritation of the conflicting speakers appeared at its height, the king, as had been preconcerted, accompanied by the Bourbon princes, the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the dukes of Guise and Montmorency, and a powerful armed escort, unexpectedly entered the hall of assembly; and having taken his seat, addressed the members. He had heard, he said, that his faithful counsellors were occupied in debates upon the best means of suppressing religious troubles; and wishing to profit by their deliberations, upon a subject on which he felt much doubt, he now commanded them to proceed.

If the first sudden apparition of royalty and the numerous guards who surrounded the chamber had alarmed the members favourable to the new doctrine, consciousness of integrity soon reassured them; and, for the most part, they continued to express their opinions with their customary freedom. Louis Du-

* *Homme de nulles Lettres et sans jugement, mais caute et astut.*—*Mém. de Condé*, i. 220.

faur, a distinguished advocate, argued that religious differences were assuredly the principal cause of the existing peril and calamity; but that the first step towards remedy ought to be a solemn inquiry as to the side to which the chief blame was attributable; lest the question of the Prophet to the unrighteous Ahab might be applied in this instance also, "Art thou he that troublest Israel?"* Anne Dubourg, an ecclesiastic, next opened an elaborate apology for the general principles of the Reformation. Having first thanked the king for his resolution to probe this question to its core, and to act according to the rules of justice, he remarked that many crying sins, blasphemy, perjury, uncleanness, and adultery, stalked abroad in noon-day, unabashed and unpunished; while new and unheard of penalties were devised against men who, guilty of no crime, raised the torch of Scripture, to discover by its light the corruptions of Rome. He then urged the necessity of a general council, which might purge the church of its manifold abuses; and he noticed the artifices by which each succeeding Pope had eluded the oath administered at his election, binding him immediately to convoke such an assembly. "While the pontiffs are thus faithless, and while kings occupied in projects of ambition are negligent of spiritual interests, a few courageous men," continued the fervid orator, "have taken this great work in hand; founding the goodly edifice which they seek to compact on the Word of God delivered in the Holy Volume, and on the discipline of the primitive fathers

* It need scarcely be remarked, that this is *not* the question of Elijah to Ahab, but of Ahab to Elijah, (1 *Kings* xviii. 17.) We give it, however, as it is reported in the *Mém. de Condé*, by De Thou, and afterward by Garnier. The *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* does not notice the speech at all. Puteanus, the commentator on De Thou, has perceived the error and corrected it in a note; but at the expense of the pointed application which the speaker no doubt intended. Dufaur, covertly stigmatizing the king, whom he wished to characterize as Ahab, either purposely altered the passage, or, in the heat of the moment, remembered it inaccurately.

in the first three centuries of the church. How praiseworthy is the enterprise! how inappreciable the blessings to be derived from it if it be faithfully executed! and yet, Christendom, for the most part, has arrayed itself against this labour of love while yet in its cradle, by edicts, ordinances, and proscriptions; by terror of punishment and menaces of extermination; forgetful that the Father of all truth has emancipated the soul of man from the sword of the tyrant, and that a well-grounded opinion can never be destroyed except by the superior weight of an opposite opinion more consonant with reason. God forbid that France should persist in following the insane example of Germany! If she does so, the land will be fouled by massacre and carnage; defaced by butchery and scaffolds; blackened by the smoke of persecuting flames; and, after all these horrors, we shall be eager to retrace every step which we have trodden in blood." In conclusion, he advised the king to employ his utmost efforts for the convention of a general council; and if he failed in that attempt, at least to assemble within his own dominions the most pious and enlightened divines, who, by their joint labours, under his own vigilant control, might consummate a salutary reform: meantime that all suits for religious offences should be suspended. This bold declaration was followed by some more cautious speeches from other members, who sought to extenuate the merciful decision of the courts on account of particular facts in the cases brought before them; and the debate was closed by a fiery harangue from the first president, Le Maistre, breathing the spirit of Torquemada himself; extolling the pious energy of Philippe Auguste, who, in a single day, ordered six hundred Albigenes to be burned in his own presence; and recommending the persecutions renewed from time to time against the Vaudois, as examples adapted to the existing state of religion in France.

At the end of the session, the king observed, with an angry tone, that he now clearly perceived the truth of those reports which informed him that his parliament contained members who despised both the regal and the pontifical authority. Few as they were, they disgraced the whole body to which they belonged; and they should find, to their cost, that they were heaping destruction on their own heads. Then turning to Montgomery, the commander of his Scotch guard, he ordered him to arrest Dufaur and Dubourg as the most obnoxious delinquents. Soldiers were also dispatched to seize in their own houses six other members, three of whom, by a timely warning, escaped. This unprecedented act of despotism was variously received according to the bias of men's opinions; the Pope and the zealous Romanists extolled it as manifesting a holy vigour and a firm devotion to the cause of God, as worthy in all respects of the most Christian king, and the eldest son of the church. But the more sober-minded perceived in it a violation of liberty; a breach of the law by him who ought to be the law's principal guardian and conservator; a curtailment of freedom of debate; a degradation of the character of the parliament; a sully of the royal dignity. All these great errors conjoined, were esteemed perilous and portentous auguries of future trouble.

The king, nevertheless, pressed on judicial proceedings, and swore in his wrath that the criminals should be burned under his own eyes. The Protestant princes of Germany employed their intercession uselessly; their envoys were treated with cold civility, and dismissed with general expressions that their masters should receive abundant satisfaction. Within nine days from the arrest of Dubourg, against whom especial vengeance was meditated, his judges were named and his trial commenced. He demurred to the authority of the court, and asserted

his privilege as a counsellor, not to be tried for a capital offence unless by the whole assembled parliament. A fresh breach of law deprived him of this right, and the king appointed a commission, before which if Dubourg persisted in his refusal to plead, he was to be reputed as already condemned. The prisoner, having first entered his protest against this new violation of liberty, answered the interrogatories concerning his faith so as to lead to full conviction that it was unsound. Without requiring farther evidence, the Archbishop of Paris pronounced him a heretic, degraded him from his order, and delivered him over to the secular arm. An appeal still lay to the Archbishop of Sens, and of this Dubourg availed himself, with what success we shall perceive hereafter.

Two days after this judgment had been passed, the lance of Montgomery terminated Henry's designs of vengeance. June 29. De Thou mentions a report, (but without either sanctioning or contradicting it,*) that the king, when raised from the fatal lists in order to be conveyed to the palace, looked back at the Bastile, and expressed a fear that he had wronged the innocent counsellors then confined within its walls: But a voice was ready at his ear to dispel this salutary remorse; and the Cardinal of Lorraine, ill concealing his anger, whispered that such a misgiving must be prompted by the father of lies, the enemy of the human race; and exhorted the dying prince to be watchful against his seductions, and to persevere in faith unto the end. It was into the hands of the wily prelate, who thus dried up the healing waters of charity

* xxii. cap. ult. *Id verum necne sit non affirmaverim, certa et quæ tantum in confesso sint scripturus.* Then, unless the words are an interpolation by another hand, (for they do not occur in all copies,) De Thou states a medical opinion that the King must have been senseless after his wound. *Certè, rei medicæ periti negant in tali vulnere vocem mitti posse—quibus ex quâcumque causâ cerebrum ictum fuerit, eos confestim ac necessario mutos fieri.*

when they first sought issue from the bosom of his dying sovereign, and into those of his brother the duke of Guise, the two bitterest enemies of the

July 10. Reformed cause, that the new king, Francis II., implicitly resigned himself immediately on his accession.

The commission instituted to take cognizance of the process against Dubourg had expired with Henry, and it was fondly hoped by the Reformed that it would not be renewed. Francis II., imbecile both in mind and body, seemed unlikely to assume the character of a persecutor; and a prince yet a novice to the sceptre, and but just folded in the mantle of royalty, might be thought reluctant to stain the festivities of his coronation by a deed of blood. It can little be wondered also, in the excited state of feeling which marked the times, that an impression had spread abroad, if not originating with the Sacramentarians, assuredly encouraged by them, that the disastrous fate of Henry had been the result of an especial interposition of Providence. It was to the charge of Montgomery that he had consigned Dubourg as prisoner: it was the spear of Montgomery which inflicted his death wound; he had vowed that Dubourg should burn under his own eyes; it was in the eye that he had received the mortal thrust; and Dubourg, from the windows of the Bastile, might view the jousts celebrated in the Rue St. Antoine.* Futile and frivolous as these

* A still more absurd coincidence is gravely advanced in a *Discours de la mort du Roy Henry II.*, printed in the 1st volume of the *Mém. de Condé*, p. 13; namely, that Henry breathed his last at the very same hour of the day on which he had committed the counsellors to prison. The author of the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.*, almost as staunch a believer in "prodigies, omens, day fatalities, &c." as Aubrey himself, informs us, that one of the tapestries decorating the couch on which the king lay in state, represented the conversion of St. Paul, and bore the words, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" The constable, dreading the application, removed the offensive furniture, i. 196. Pasquier notices a prediction by Cardan, and a warning which Henry received from a Jew at Rome that a duel should be fatal to him. *Lettres*, lib. iv. vol. i. p. 175.

petty coincidences appear to cooler minds in calmer moments, they were not without their weight when first remarked; and it was therefore with no slight surprise that the Protestants heard, on the third day after the accession of Francis, that the Cardinal of Lorraine had issued a new commission to the former judges; that the Archbishop of Sens had confirmed the sentence of his brother prelate of Paris; and that nothing more remained to the prisoner but to endeavour to obtain his right of submitting a last and most unpromising appeal to the whole assembled parliament.

When we call to mind those events which have made the queen mother, Catherine de Medicis, a by-word and an abomination in history, we cannot learn without astonishment that *she* was the personage upon whom the Reformed Church of Paris placed hope in this their destitution. But Catherine had not yet displayed herself in those colours of blood by which she is "incarnadined" to all posterity. During the life of her husband, the late king, she had cultivated with seeming affection the society of the dame de Roye (mother of the Princess de Condé) and that of the Admiral Coligny, both known supporters of the Reformed interests. She had even, it was said, apparently lent a favourable ear to some of the Calvinistic preachers; and it could not be doubted, that at the present moment, she felt little complacency towards the Guises, who sought to engross the whole powers of government, to diminish her natural rights, and to frustrate her parental influence over a son whom she had hoped, on account of his weakness, to retain in perpetual minority. To the queen mother, therefore, the French Reformed addressed their supplication. "The pity and the good will," thus commenced the simple-hearted petitioners, "which your majesty has ever deigned to manifest towards our cause, have long taught us to regard you as a second

Esther.”—Alas! there was another queen, not in Shushan but in Israel, who *threatened the lives of the prophets of the Lord, and slew innocent men, and whose witchcrafts were many*, to whom she might have been more fittingly likened!—They then assured her that in their religious service, besides the customary prayer for the prosperity of the king, they had always used a particular one for herself, entreating that God would be pleased to preserve and to enlighten her by His law; they urged also that it was her privilege, as mother of the king, to rescue the guiltless from destruction, and to prevent her son from imitating, in the very outset of his reign, those atrocities which had recently called down the vengeance of Heaven upon her husband and his most unhappy kingdom. The tears of Catherine were ever ready at command, and they plenteously bedewed this memorial. She then returned it with an assurance that no exertions which might contribute to their object should be wanting on her part; and in the mean time she advised them to employ more than ordinary caution, and not to heighten the present irritation by publicly celebrating their worship, or by congregating in numerous assemblies. Furthermore, she commissioned the admiral to procure for her a conference with the most discreet of the Parisian Reformed ministers; and named the day of the *sacre*, at Rheims, as that on which it might take place with the least fear of attracting public notice. A minister was accordingly introduced to her closet at the appointed time, but other unexpected calls wore away the day, and the conference was postponed.

Dubourg himself, meanwhile, skilfully profited by every expedient which the law afforded to procure delay, and his demurrers were one by one examined and overruled. Unable to obtain a general assembly of the chambers, he shamed his enemies into granting permission that he might be heard by counsel,

and might also challenge the judges of his final appeal. Two were named by him at the moment in court, the third he begged leave to mention in writing; and when pressed upon this point, and ordered to declare himself instantly, having first apologized for the discourtesy which he was thus most reluctantly obliged to commit, he boldly protested against the judgment of the Cardinal of Lorraine, his most grievous enemy, and the author and fountain of all his persecutions. This avowal was unexpected; but the cardinal, far too experienced a politician to betray his mortification, mildly disclaimed enmity against the prisoner, and voluntarily withdrew. Merillac, the distinguished advocate assigned for the defence, was sufficiently acquainted with the temper of the court to know that, without some show of relaxation on the part of the accused from the severity of his principles, his cause was desperate. He first, therefore, arranged a written confession of faith, so generally and ambiguously expressed, that Dubourg might sign and the judges accept it with equally clear consciences. Then, obtaining a promise from his client, that he would remain silent, and surrender himself altogether to the line of defence selected by his advocate, after an exordium on the illustrious birth of the prisoner, who was nephew of a chancellor of France, his great acquirements, his rare modesty, his primitive virtues, and his excellence as a magistratè; he pointed out the numerous illegalities of the process from its very commencement, and when Dubourg naturally expected that in the peroration an annulment of all the proceedings would be demanded, he was astonished by hearing an appeal to the mercy of the king and the sympathy of the judges; an avowal of indiscretion in having too freely expressed opinions both in the royal presence, and in his answers to the interrogatories of the Archbishop of Paris; and an admission that he had been deceived by some religious impos-

tors pretending to extraordinary purity. "But the delusion," continued Merillac, "has passed away; the prisoner, sincerely attached to the laws of his country, and submitting to the powers authorized by God, acknowledges his fault, and throws himself on the indulgence of the tribunal." Then, on his making a private signal to those of the judges who were known to be favourable, and with whom the scheme had been preconcerted, the court rose; and Dubourg was reconducted to his cell without an opportunity of addressing it.

By this friendly stratagem Dubourg would have been saved, if his noble spirit could have brooked the preservation of life by tacit acquiescence in falsehood. Calling for ink and paper on his return to prison, he wrote a peremptory disavowal of Merillac's statement of his repentance, and transmitted it forthwith to the parliament. He then addressed a circular letter to the Protestant churches, in order to counteract the impression which he feared might be entertained that the frequency of his appeals was prompted by any weakness of the flesh, any clinging to life, any shrinking from the fiery trial that awaited him. The legal forms, he said, of which he had taken advantage, abuses as they were, were abuses authorized by the constitution. Had he consulted his own feelings, he would long since have been at rest, and in the enjoyment of his crown of martyrdom; but he owed it to himself, to his brethren, to his faith, and to his God, to seek time, in order to give every possible publicity to the doctrines which he maintained; and not by any rash act of overfervid zeal, to encounter the guilt of accelerating that death which in good season he should confront without fear. His friends again addressed themselves to Catherine, stating that they had complied with her advice, and had either discontinued their meetings or had held them in secrecy, but that persecution, notwithstanding, had waxed fierce. For

themselves, they could continue to promise obedience; but they warned the queen that there was a numerous body of men, not absolutely professed Reformers, but inwardly disgusted with the tyranny of Rome, who, if this nefarious process were persisted in, would infallibly have recourse to dangerous extremities. Catherine was too high-couraged to read a threat like this without indignation. "Do they menace me?" she exclaimed, "do they think to make *me* fear?—Patience, patience! matters have not yet come to such a point as they imagine."* The Admiral and Madame de Roye pacified her anger; and she then declared, that whatever compassion she might have exhibited towards the Reformed when under suffering, was no more than womanly pity and natural sympathy for the unfortunate, and ought not to be interpreted as approbation of their tenets. How indeed could she decide respecting doctrines upon which she was wholly uninformed? Doubtless, when she heard of persons encountering an agonizing death with joy, and in the midst of torments blessing God for the testimony which He graciously permitted them to manifest, it was scarcely possible not to suspect that their doctrines were more than of men. On that account she wished much to converse with one of their teachers; and having heard reports of the great learning and piety of a certain minister among them, Antony de Chandieu,† a young man of very ancient family, she earnestly desired the admiral to bring him to her privately. Coligny was well versed in the real temper of

* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 227.

† Antony, Lord of Chandieu and Baron of Chabôt, was named by the Church of Paris as their minister at twenty years of age, and moderated at the III^d. national synod, held at Orleans in 1562. His latter years were passed at Geneva, where he died in 1591. According to the pedantic fashion of the times, he called himself, by Hebrew equivalents, *Sadeel*, the Field of God, or *Zamariel*, the Song of God. His life may be found among the *Theologi Exteri* of Melchior Adams. Chandieu was a poet as well as a divine; and he accommodated to serious themes the short compositions, *Les Octonaires*, in which Ron-

the profound dissembler who thought to deceive him by this mockery ; and far from endangering one of the chief hopes and most shining lights of the French Reformation by entanglement in her deadly coils, he prevailed upon Chandieu to withdraw from Paris ; and in his stead he submitted a written confession of faith and canons of discipline to the examination of the queen mother.*

The patience of the Sacramentarians was at length exhausted ; they renewed their meetings with more than accustomed freedom ; and with a pardonable indiscretion, they gave vent to irritated feeling by a deluge of satirical *brochures*, weapons now becoming of common use in this warfare. The Guises in return employed an engine less keen in edge perhaps, but far more weighty and powerful. They issued an ordinance condemning every house proved to have harboured an assembly of Protestants to be razed to the ground, even if it belonged to an owner resident at a distance, or to a religious community ; for every landlord, it was argued, ought to be responsible for the orderly conduct of his tenants. The Fauxbourg St. Germain, or as it was then called in derision, *La petite Genève*, was the chief resort of the Sacramentarians ; and numerous acts of pillage and violence were there perpetrated under colour of this edict. Instant flight and abandonment of home and property were the only means by which the wretched inhabitants, if warned of the approach of the officers of

sard had excelled on lighter subjects. The following lines are among the most pleasing which have descended to us from his pen :—

Sur la Vanité du Monde.

*Le Beau du Monde s' efface
Soudain comme un vent qui passe ;
Soudain comme on voit la fleur
Sans sa première couleur ;
Soudain comme une onde fuit
Devant l' autre qui la suit.
Qu' est ce donc que le Monde ?
Un vent, une fleur, une onde !*

* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 228.

justice, could hope to preserve liberty, perhaps life; and not the least piteous result of this cruel persecution were the throngs of children, too young to be removed, who, raising their little hands to the passers by, asked with tears for their parents, for food, for shelter, and protection. Alas! cold, hunger, and destitution for the most part terminated the sufferings of these innocents. No friendly hand dared to offer succour, lest suspicion of heresy should bring down on itself misery similar to that which it had ventured to relieve.*

The rich harvest reaped by informers contributed not a little to increase the number of denouncements, and some apostates who had been dismissed from Protestant congregations for robbing the almschest, and who were well acquainted with the chief meeting-houses, betrayed them, Judas-like, to the police. This example was followed by two runaway apprentices, seeking revenge for some just chastisement inflicted by their masters. These youths, accurately instructed beforehand in their tale, laid hideous depositions before the president St. André and his colleagues. They had been introduced by their masters, as they affirmed, to several Protestant meetings in the house of an advocate named Trouilles, in the Place Maubert. One of those assemblies was held on the eve of Good Friday, when after hearing a sermon, a large company of both sexes partook of a sucking pig, dressed in mockery of the Paschal lamb. This supper being concluded, the lamps were extinguished, and orgies commenced under the foul veil of darkness, equally detestable with those which history has recorded of the Roman *Bacchanalia*, or which the dreams of a grotesque fancy have invented in later times; as fitting accompaniments of the Satanic Sabbath on the *Walpurgisnacht*. The daughters of the host were personally recognised by the deponents as sharers in this scene of licentious horror;

* De Thou, xxiii. 8. Garnier, xiv. 363.

and although on cross-examination the witnesses betrayed inconsistencies sufficient to discredit their whole story, the magistrates affected belief, and took no small pains to publish the odious details of their confession. Even in the concealment into which the calumniated ladies had been driven, they were pursued by this utter blasting of their good fame; and feeling that life was nothing worth if honour were destroyed, they presented themselves before the magistrates, and demanded and underwent a test of purity, more satisfactory indeed in its appeal to reason than the ordeal of elder times, but one from which the sensitiveness of female delicacy must have recoiled with ten thousand-fold more apprehension than even from the glowing ploughshares. The imputation of dishonour was distinctly removed, but the deeper and more damning stain of heresy remained; and the maidens, notwithstanding their surrender had been voluntary, continued to be rigorously imprisoned, and were daily menaced with delivery to the flames.*

Other circumstances, besides the increased irritation against the Reformed excited by these false rumours, contributed to accelerate the catastrophe of Dubourg. In the Bastile, he was used with extraordinary rigour, deprived of all intercourse with his friends, fed upon bread and water, and occasionally enclosed in one of those iron cages, the invention of which is attributed to the detestable ingenuity of a favourite of Louis XI. The sole recreation permitted to him was his lute, on which he accompanied himself while singing Marot's Psalms.† His friends, more anxious than himself for his preservation, arranged a plan for escape, which was discovered by an untoward accident; and the assassination of one who had distinguished himself greatly in forwarding his prosecution was affirmed to have

* De Thou, xxiii. 11. *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 230, &c.

† *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 246.

been perpetrated with his privacy. Minart, one of the presidents, a man of loose habits and factious principles, from which many causes of private enmity might arise,* was shot in the street, while returning in the evening from the parliament to his own home. Robert Stuart, a Scotch adventurer, professing the Reformed principles, Dec. 12. was suspected of the murder; and it was remembered that Dubourg had warned the deceased, not long before, that unless he voluntarily absented himself from the trial, he would assuredly be prevented by compulsion. The menace might be, and from Dubourg's character probably *was*, no more than a general assertion of God's justice; but its fulfilment convinced one party that he who delivered it was prophetically inspired, the other, that he was cognizant of the intended murder. Rumours of a general conspiracy soon floated abroad; a fate similar to that of Minart was said to be destined for the other obnoxious judges; the city was to be fired in many quarters at once, and, during the general confusion, the Conciergerie was to be forced and the prisoners were to be released.†

The obvious remedy for these dangers, if they were real, and the fittest sedative for the general panic, even if they were not so, seemed to be the speedy removal of the chief cause of popular excitement; and three days, therefore, after the assassination of Minart, Dubourg was brought into court and received sentence of immediate execution. He listened, says De Thou, who transcribes his very words from the public registers, without one sign

* *Alioqui vitæ solutæ atque ad voluptates projectæ homo.*—De Thou, xxiii. 11. *Homme fort voluptueux et de nulle érudition, mais grand faiseur de menées et factions.*—*Mém. de Condé*, i. 221.

† The *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* adds another remarkable reason which induced the Cardinal of Lorraine to secure his vengeance upon Dubourg (or *avoir la peau de ce personnage*, as the historian expresses himself) before the prisoner could extricate himself: *pour ce que Nostradamus, Astrologien et invocateur des Diables, avoit mis en ses pronostications "le bon Bourg sera loin."*—i. 241.

of fear; pardoning his judges, whom he believed to have decided according to their consciences, although not according to knowledge and the true wisdom of God.* Addressing himself in the end with somewhat more of emotion to the court, he added, "Quench at length the fires which you have kindled, and turn unto God with a penitent heart and mind, that your sins may be blotted out and forgiven. Let the wicked man turn away from his wickedness, and leave off to do perversely, and acquaint himself with the Lord, and the Lord will have mercy? For you, my brother counsellors, farewell and prosper! and think without ceasing in God and of God. For myself, I go cheerfully to death." So fearful were the authorities of any attempted rescue, that besides stationing a large armed force in various parts of the city, they erected gibbets and piled faggots on each of the many spots on which their victims had heretofore suffered, in order by uncertainty to distract attention from the real scene of execution. Dubourg mounted the tumbril with alacrity, and was conducted under a strong escort to the Grève; where, having warned the spectators that he did not die there ignominiously like a malefactor, but because he adhered to the Gospel, he calmly laid aside his cloak and doublet without assistance; and while the executioner prepared to strangle him before committal to the flames, the last words heard from his lips were, "Father, abandon me not, neither will I abandon Thee!" Thus perished in his thirty-eighth year Anne Dubourg, a man of rare talents, and yet rarer integrity; loved, wept, and honoured even by many of those who differed from him most widely in religion. His constancy in death, says the historian cited above, so imbittered and so confirmed the

* There is an antithesis in the original which defies translation:—*qui secundum conscientiam, non secundum scientiam et veram Dei sapientiam judicassent.*—De Thou, xxiii. 11.

adherents to his own creed, that from his ashes sprang that rank growth of revolts and conspiracies which long and heavily overran this once most flourishing kingdom.*

Whether sated for a while by the perpetration of this great crime, or whether, as is 1560. more likely, alarmed by the threatening aspect of the Reformed on the one hand, and of the now unmanageable fury of the populace of the capital on the other, the government but languidly pursued the suits against the other counsellors who had been arrested together with Dubourg; and they were released, after undergoing various degrees of lighter punishment. Meanwhile, the most frightful outrages disgraced the streets of Paris, and the search for heretics was made a pretext for almost general brigandage. In every public thoroughfare, and at the corners of the chief streets, small images of the Virgin, or of some saint, were erected, beneath which lighted tapers were placed on a table dressed as an altar. The dregs of the *canaille*, the rabble-priests of these mock shrines, sang hymns and celebrated a profane worship before them; and fiercely besetting every careless or scornful passenger who neglected or refused to pay his devotions to their idol, dragged him before the magistrates as a Sacramentarian. To defray the expense of tapers, they carried about with them a small box called *tire-lire*; and bold indeed was any one who refused to contribute to its contents: blows, insults, and perhaps the most protracted and horrible of all deaths, that which is inflicted by the hands of a savage and desperate mob, were the price of his rashness. Nor were they the Reformed only who were thus exposed to extortion; the soundest Romanist, provided he were known to be rich, was an equally attractive

* De Thou xxiii. 11. *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 248. The process against Dubourg, his various interrogatories, his confession of faith, and other documents relating to his history, occupy ninety pages in the 1st vol. of the *Mém. de Condé*, 217—304

quarry with the most notorious heretic, and the fragrance of the odour of booty exhaled alike from both religions.* The cry of *Lutheran* or *Christandin* when once raised, whether truly or falsely, drew thousands to the chase; and the denounced individual, hunted down like some dog whom the voice of the multitude has proclaimed to be rabid, was never quitted till his death and plunder glutted the ferocity and the avarice of his bloody pursuers.†

The Reformed, although constituting a large body in the state, had been regarded hitherto solely as religious dissidents; but they were now about to assume a more important and formidable political character. The King of Navarre, as first prince of the blood royal, had, without doubt, paramount claim to a principal share in the administration during the minority of Francis II.; and he accordingly made his appearance at court early after that monarch's accession; having first given out among the Protestants that one of his chief objects in visiting the capital, was to demand liberty of conscience on their behalf. But it was the policy of the Guises to estrange from the young king any probable competitor for that power which they wished to be exclusively their own; and the exalted station of the King of Navarre, weak and undecided as he was, might render him a dangerous rival. They so contrived, therefore, that his reception should be cold and bordering upon affront. Certain distinctions due to his rank were purposely withheld; no provision was made for lodging him within the palace; the king addressed only a few and distant words to his uncle, and did not summon him to the council-board. These slights, however, failed to disturb the placid spirit of this most easy prince; and, in order to remove him, at least for a time, from

* *Lucri bonus est odor ex re*

Quâlibet.—Juv. xiv. 204.

† De Thou, xxiii. 12—*Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 248.

the circle of domestic politics, the Guises offered a charge which he could hardly refuse, without that open rupture which he sedulously avoided,—the conveyance of the reluctant Elizabeth of Valois to her Spanish bridegroom, afterward Philip II.* Little, however, was the profit which they derived from thus displaying to the Reformed the pusillanimity, vacillation, and indecision of the prince whom they had hitherto considered as their virtual leader; for a successor of widely different qualities was now substituted in his place. Under a person but scantily indebted to nature for external advantages, and an appearance of carelessness and frivolity, Louis, Prince of Condé, nourished an ardent, intrepid, lofty, and indomitable spirit. Schooled in war, although hitherto confined to subaltern appointments, he had exhibited talents for military combination not less brilliant than his personal courage; and without private revenues, and excluded from the favours of the court, he had learned those lessons of self-denial and active exertion, of which necessity is ever the great teacher. One cruel mortification to which the Guises had exposed him was a mission on an expensive embassy without adequate appointments; a second was the refusal of the government of Picardy, resigned by the Admiral Coligny, with the express object of obtaining the succession for his friend and kinsman. These and many other affronts, the hopelessness of success in any public career, while the Guises retained power, the zealous urgency of his princess and her mother the Dame de Roye, the stings of disappointment, the hopes of ambition, the desire of revenge, decided him to embrace communion with a sect actuated indeed by motives widely different from his own, yet desirous, like himself, to effect a change in the government. Rapid in all his movements, resolute when he had decided, impatient of disguise, and prompt to action,

* *Histoire du Tumulte d'Amboise ; Mém. de Condé*, i. 321.

he at once avowed his conversion to Protestantism ; and named a place and day for conference with some of the chief delegates of the Reformed, in order that he might offer himself for that supremacy among them which his brother had thrown away.

Notwithstanding their sufferings and persecutions, it was much rather a strong and nervous guidance of power which the Reformed needed, than the elements of power itself. From Boulogne to Bayonne, from Brest to Metz, France now teemed with proselytes to the new doctrine ; men accustomed to danger, bold, zealous, constant, and unshrinking, bound by strong ties among themselves, and maintaining unbroken correspondence with the Swiss Cantons and the German princes. Give them but a competent chief, show them once but a fitting head, and the several members were fully prepared to unite in meeting force by force, and to demand, probably to extort, enfranchisement from the oppression under which they now chafed with impatience. One difficulty, indeed, interposed itself between them and the possession of their final object. How was the liberty which they coveted to be won, except by open resistance to government ? and how was open resistance to be reconciled with that passive obedience which Calvin had preached, and themselves had adopted as a fundamental principle of their creed ? The removal of this obstacle appears to have formed the chief subject of debate at Ferté, in Champagne, the spot on his own estate at which Condé first met the Reformed deputies. By Condé himself—a soldier bred in camps, a recent proselyte, not so much to opinions as to a party, little knowing, and probably less regarding, those matters which he considered to be mere subtleties of polemical disputation—such an objection would have been easily resolved ; he would have unsheathed the sword, and have cut the knot at a single stroke. But it was far otherwise with the

personages whom he had chosen as associates. Whatever step *they* adopted must accord with the avowed doctrines of their church; and no certainty of advantage, no conviction of policy, could be allowed to supersede the solemn fiat of religion. They were not content to extricate themselves from scruples by some specious and cunning subterfuge, but they referred grave and weighty doubts to the decision of stern and unbending conscience. Their proceedings, therefore, were necessarily tardy and deliberate. They drew up hypothetical cases and submitted them to divines and civilians; and the result was, as in similar cases it ever will be, an example of, if we may so term it, the necessary continuity of error; a proof that if man once begins his course from a wrong starting place, he requires some new fallacy at every step of his progress. The infusion of a single false principle may stagnate the life-blood of truth for uncounted generations. South has somewhere said, "every great villany is like a great absurdity, drawing after it a numerous train of homogeneous consequences."

Calvin had formally affirmed that no outrage upon human liberty, however grievous, if committed by rulers acting under divine right, might be forcibly resisted by a Christian man;* in other words, he had preached up that extravagant doctrine with which our own English pulpits sometimes resounded before the principles of the revolution were understood and established. Were the reigning prince a second Nero, Domitian, or Caligula, the faithful, it was said, were bound to obey, even as the apostles had obeyed. It was not possible, therefore, that the French Reformed could oppose the king; but they raised a question concerning the king's majority;

* See the *Institutio Christiana*, lib. iv. c. 20, from § 24, to the end. *Nobis autem interim summopere cavendum ne illam plenam venerandæ majestatis Magistratum auctoritatem quam Deus gravissimis edictis sanxit, etiamsi apud indignissimos resideat, et qui cum suâ nequitia quantum in se eam polluunt, spernamus aut violemus.* § 31.

they argued, that from his extreme youth he had no power of governing for himself—that the Guises had usurped all authority from him—and that against those tyrants, *for the deliverance of the king* every means of attack was lawful. “Religion,” says the writer of the *Apologie Chrestienne*, one of the tracts which this occasion produced, “religion, and every received law of humanity, commands subjects to take up arms for their prince whenever he is oppressed; for the preservation of law, and for the protection of their country.”* It was useless to reply that the king had passed his sixteenth year; that the term of royal majority was unfixed by the French law; but that precedents, for the most part, had settled it at fourteen; that Francis had been considered old enough, even during his father’s lifetime, to enter into marriage; and that his nearest advisers, and those by whom his government was administered, were the queen dowager his mother, and the uncles of the queen his consort. These plain and unanswerable facts melted into air before the responses by which the Calvinistic pastors and lawyers sanctioned insurrection: and a large body of pure, upright, honest, sincere, and single-minded men, (no men ever more fully deserved those epithets,) either not having sufficient wisdom to descry, or sufficient moral courage to abandon their original error, sophistically reconciled themselves to its theoretical maintenance, together with its practical violation, gave the advantage in argument to their enemies, and supported the better cause on the worse principles.†

* *Mém. de Condé*, i. 360. See also similar arguments in the *Hist. du Tumulte d’Amboise* before cited.

† Davila has described the mixed motives of the several parties who joined in the conspiracy of Amboise in a few masterly words, which *mutatis mutandis* may be applied to most similar enterprizes. After a very striking portrait of La Renaudie, he adds, *di questa qualità e di questa nascita era il capo principale della Congiura, al quale s'erano accostati molti altri, parte indotti dal rispetto della coscienza, parte spinti dal desiderio di cose nuove, e parte invitati dall' otio nemico naturale della Nazione Francese.*—Lib. i. toin. i. p. 35.

The prince of Condé was unanimously recognized as chief of the enterprise now meditated, but policy required the concealment of his participation till the moment of execution. The open conduct of it was, therefore, intrusted to Geoffry du Barre, Sieur de la Renaudie or la Forêt; a gentleman of opulent and ancient family in Perigaud, who felt himself cruelly aggrieved by a decree of the courts in a suit concerning a patrimonial benefice. The Romanist historians tax him openly with perjury during this cause; but from the honesty of De Thou, we learn that he was far less to be blamed than pitied; that advantage had been taken of some mistake, for which he was subjected both to a heavy fine and to banishment; and that during a long exile, he had contracted intimacy with many of his countrymen, seeking the free exercise of their religion at Lausanne and Geneva. Renaudie was able, daring, and active; fired with resentment for the injustice which he had suffered, and panting to wash away by some great deed the stain of his unmerited condemnation.* No man, therefore, was better qualified for the bold and difficult task which he undertook. It seems as if about this time he had obtained a remission of his sentence, which enabled him to reappear in France, and he profited by this liberty to traverse the provinces and to secure co-operation.

The languishing state of the king's health had induced the court physicians to recommend Blois as his winter and spring residence, and the most frightful rumours preceded his arrival in that city. His disease was affirmed to be leprosy, and the remedy prescribed for it was said to be a daily bath of infant's blood. Accordingly, when he approached his palace,

* *Ob falsi crimen quod fortè incurrerat, ut ferè evenit in hujusmodi negotiis . . . qui facinore insigni judicii infamiam, quamvis ob alienum potius quam suum crimen damnatus esset, eluere vellet.* De Thou, xxiv. 18. The latter part of that book, from the 17th chapter, contains a detailed narrative of the conspiracy of Amboise, upon which we have mainly depended.

it seemed as if the population had been desolated and swept away by pestilence or some great convulsion of nature. Every house was closed and barred, and no individuals were visible excepting a few agonized women flying hastily across the fields, clasping their babes to their bosoms, and when overtaken, dropping on their knees and imploring mercy for the innocents, with shrieks of horror and despair. Pretended emissaries from the royal household had recently collected in all the neighbouring villages exact lists of the numbers and ages of the children whom they contained; and mysterious hints had been purposely dropped, at the same time, of the dark purpose for which this catalogue was designed. The Guises attributed these horrible reports to the malcontents, and they succeeded in arresting one of their presumed agents; but the culprit, when submitted to the question, unexpectedly retorted upon his accusers; declared that he had acted under the orders of the Cardinal of Lorraine; and that he had been instructed to circulate accounts of corruption of blood in all the members of the reigning family; in order that the crown might pass back from the descendants of the usurper, Hugh Capet, to the legitimate Carlovingians represented by the Guises.* It is not possible to decide by which party this detestable artifice was really practised; but the charge of revolutionary designs, and of a wish to

* This, after all, perhaps, is the best origin which can be ascribed to the party name *Huguenot*, and so it is plainly considered in more than one contemporary tract: *en manière qu'ils ont de long temps composé par ensemble un sobriquet et mot à plaisir, par derision de ceux qu'ils disent estre descendus de la race du dict Hugue Capet, les appellans Huguenots. Advertissement au Peuple de France; Mém de Condé, i. 402.* And again, *que la Couronne soit transferée de ceux que la Maison de Guise appelle Huguenots comme estans descendus de la race de Hugue Capet, pour estre remise et restituée, comme ils disent, à ceux qui se renomment de Charlemagne. Complainte au Peuple Francois. ibid. 405.* The kingdom of Lothaire, or of Lorraine, derives its name from Lothaire II. to whom it was bequeathed by his father, Lothaire, Emperor and King of Italy, a grandson of Charlemagne; from whom the Guises were naturally proud of tracing their descent.

transfer the sceptre to their own line, thus raised against the Guises, proved a most useful weapon in the hands of their adversaries. In what manner they employed it we shall perceive by and by.

CHAPTER IV.

Discovery of the proposed Rising—The King retires to Amboise—Death of La Renaudie and overthrow of the Conspirators—Accusation of Condé—Execution of the Baron de Castelnau—Death of the Chancellor Olivier—He is succeeded by De L'Hôpital—Edict of Romorantin—The Baker of Tours—Origin of the term Huguenot—Flight of Condé—Council at Fontainebleau—Memorial presented by the Admiral—Speech of Montluc Bishop of Valence—Of the Cardinal of Lorraine—The States-General summoned to Orleans—Offers of the Reformed to the King of Navarre—His Arrival at Orleans with Condé—Arrest of Condé—His Condemnation and Fortitude—Reputed Design to assassinate the King of Navarre—Death of Francis II.

THE unusual excitement which prevailed among the French refugees in Swisserland had not altogether escaped notice. Among the many whom La Renaudie was compelled to trust, some might be faithless, more, doubtless; were imprudent; yet although the Guises from time to time received advices that some great enterprise was under contemplation, they never attained a sufficiently distinct clue to enable them to unravel the intricacies of its labyrinth. The day of rising was already fixed ^{1560.} for the 10th of March; five hundred mounted gentlemen, and about twelve hundred armed men on foot, were to concentrate themselves in the vicinity of Blois; and arrangements were made for the simultaneous occupation of the chief towns, and for arming the disaffected inhabitants throughout the provinces; when by the faithlessness of Renaudie's host in Paris, government received information of the secret, so far, at least, as the traitor himself was acquainted with it. Not a moment was to be lost in

placing the king's person in security ; and under pretence of a hunting party, the court was immediately transferred from the open and unfortified town of Blois, to a castle in the neighbouring village of Amboise. Troops were then hastily assembled, and summonses addressed to the chief nobility to repair thither for the immediate protection of their sovereign. The keen penetration of the Guises at once perceived that some far greater influence than that possessed by La Renaudie, was the prime mover of the engine by which they were to be overthrown ; and the discovery of the hidden soul of the enterprise was their next object. Of the admiral they entertained great suspicions, and, indeed, much fear ; and Catherine, who still maintained a close intimacy with him, was employed to resolve their doubts. Little can it be imagined that the Chastillons, now avowed Sacramentarians, and bosom-friends of Condé, had been denied his confidence ; but, perhaps, they had cautiously avoided all open participation in the conspiracy, and awaited the result before they declared their full intentions. Confident therefore in his own security, Coligny repaired to the closet of the queen dowager ; protested unequivocal adhesion to the court ; pointed out the extreme danger of reducing to desperation so large a body as the Reformed now constituted ; and suggested the issue of an edict annulling all prosecutions for heresy already commenced, and forbidding the institution of any new suit for the future till after the assembly of a general council.

This advice, although most unpalatable to the Guises, was not to be declined when backed by the influence of Catherine and the exigence of the moment. The edict, therefore, was prepared, with little intention of its being ultimately observed ; and with an exception of all those who under pretext of religion had conspired against the king, the queens, the brothers of the king, the princes of the blood or

the *chief ministers*; an exception which must have gone far to render the ordinance a dead letter among those whom it was chiefly intended to propitiate. The gathering accordingly took place, on the 17th of March,* a week after the day originally proposed: and Condé, faithful to his engagement, was among the first who arrived at the trysting place. As he entered the gates of the Castle of Amboise, the unusual number of *séntinels* and certain precautions in his reception convinced him that the plot was discovered and himself suspected; but, inwardly assured that he had not been personally denounced, he affected great indignation on hearing that there were traitors who dared to menace the king; and requested to have some post allotted him, in which he might assist in defending the castle. This offer of service could not be declined, but due care was taken, by placing him under vigilant observation, to frustrate any attempt at escape.

Disappointed in their hopes of surprise, it is no wonder that the conspirators failed. In the affray which ensued La Renaudie was killed; most of his followers were gibbeted on the spot, or thrown into the Loire and drowned;† and the Baron of Castelnau de Chalosse, and a few other of the chiefs who surrendered on an assurance of being permitted to offer a representation of their grievances at the foot of the throne, were detained close prisoners. Among the captured was La Bigne, La Renaudie's secretary; from whom torture wrung a key to the cypher in which his late master's papers were written, a revelation of the objects of the conspiracy, and an account of its details, perhaps greatly exaggerated. That the death of the Guises was intended can scarcely be doubted; but it requires more trustworthy evidence than that of a renegade confessing

* De Thou, xxiv. 21. Castelnau says the 16th.—*Mém.* i. 8.

† *Ita ut flumen cadaveribus supernataret, oppidi vici sanguine exundarent plateæ hominum patibulis suffixorum sylvâ horrescerent*, is the brief, striking, and fearful account given by De Thou. xxiv. 21.

under terror of death, to produce a belief that a prince of the blood, and that prince Louis of Condé, could design the murder of the king, of the king's brothers, and of the two queens, the abolition of monarchy, and the establishment of a republic on the Swiss model. Nevertheless, of a project thus atrocious La Bigne did not hesitate to declare that the Prince of Condé was leader.*

Plain as was this denouncement, it was not thought sufficient to warrant any judicial proceeding of so grave a character as the capital arraignment of a prince of the blood. Even if La Renaudie's accusation should be supported by La Renaudie's documents, the latter might have employed Condé's name without authority, in order to strengthen his party; and the Duke of Guise, therefore, discreetly recommended that unless much stronger evidence could be obtained all show of misgiving should be suppressed. The king, however, declared his suspicions openly to Condé's face, and forbade his departure from Amboise. The prince in return demanded an inquiry; defended himself in full council; and at the conclusion of a speech marked with great vehemence, protested that if there were any man in the whole world bold enough to maintain an accusation against him, he would at that very moment lay aside all the privileges of his exalted rank, and meet him sword to sword in the lists, to prove him a liar and a recreant. The glance of defiance at the Duke of Guise which accompanied these last words could not be mistaken; and the whole assembly imagined that the challenge was about to be accepted when that nobleman rose to reply. On the contrary, however, he avowed with consummated dissimulation his conviction that the prince was by no means called upon to rebut the charges of a few miserable criminals, seeking to extenuate their own guilt by the implication of illustrious names. "So firmly, indeed,"

* *Id. ibid.*

ne added, "am I convinced of the prince of Condé's innocence, that if any accuser should appear I tender my services as second to the challenger."

With the Baron de Castelnau, the most distinguished among the prisoners both by rank and personal merit, equal moderation was deemed unnecessary. He had surrendered on the faith of a compact for personal security, attested by the signature of the Duke de Nemours; and the perverted morals of the age are remarkably exhibited in that nobleman's subsequent conduct. When he learned that it was the intention of the court to put the prisoner on his trial, he expressed bitter regret. "The document," he exclaimed, "is *signed*; my name is affixed to it in *writing*; if there were no more than word of mouth against me, I might easily give the lie to any one who reproached me with its violation!" and this pseudo-principle of honour, which placed guilt not in the commission but in the discovery of wrong, has found an admirer in the writer by whom it is recorded!*

In spite of the solemn agreement on which he had relied, Castelnau was subjected to an interrogatory, and threatened with the question. For a moment he hesitated and was silent, and the Duke of Guise taunted him with fear. "Fear!" were the noble words in answer, "I by no means deny it; what man is there among you, unless he be destitute of all feeling, who could be wholly free from such an emotion, if he found himself bound hand and foot, and tossed to the mercy of his most implacable enemies, thirsting to drink his blood! But give me back my sword, and *then* venture upon your taunt; or change places with me, and answer whether every limb in your body would not tremble! That natural feeling with which you reproach me, through God's aid, however, shall by no means im-

* *Tant étoit vaillant Prince et généreux.*—*Mémoires de Vieilleville*, tom iv. p. 191.

pair the judgment and presence of mind which are necessary for my defence." And never, during a long and trying examination, was clearer self-possession or more tranquil courage manifested, than that which he continued to display. The Chancellor Olivier, the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, each in turn was silenced by some keen and searching rebuke. When the first of these expressed somewhat of contemptuous surprise, that the prisoner, once a man of far different pursuits, should have become so profound a theologian as he then exhibited himself, Castelnau reminded him of a conversation which had occurred between them not very long before. "When I visited you on my return from imprisonment in Flanders, and you inquired in what manner I had employed the tedious hours of my captivity, I replied that I had studied the Holy Scriptures, and acquainted myself with the controversies then agitating men's spirits. You approved my course, you dissipated what scruples I still retained, and we mutually agreed. How happens it that one of us since that time has so greatly changed his opinions that now we are unable to understand each other? I will supply your answer. *Then* you were in disgrace, and spoke in the sincerity of your heart; *now* you are the wretched eye-servant of court favour, and in order to please a man who probably despises you, you betray your God and your conscience." The Cardinal of Lorraine hastened to the assistance of his embarrassed colleague, and while claiming to himself the merit of having confirmed him in Romanism, he dropped some unguarded expression which made Castelnau appeal to the Duke of Guise. The duke in reply disavowed all acquaintance with polemics. "Would that it were otherwise!" said the baron in conclusion; "for so far do I esteem you, that I dare pledge myself that were you in possession of equal light with that which has fallen

to the share of your brother, you would employ it to far better purpose."

Castelnau, and four other captains, were led to instant execution; the last who received the fatal stroke, Briquemont de Villemonges, dipped his hands in the blood of his slaughtered comrades before he kneeled at the block, and then raising them to Heaven, exclaimed, "Father, behold the blood of Thy children! Thou wilt avenge it." The whole court witnessed the tragical spectacle. The king's brothers—yet children—the two queens and their attendant ladies, were stationed in a gallery of the castle which commanded a view of the scaffold;* and the only person who shrank from the sight of horror was Anné d'Esté, mother of the Guises, who rushed to her own chamber, prophesying that vengeance must fall ere long on the heads of her own sons. The Prince of Condé himself was compelled to be present; and, notwithstanding the spies by whom he knew he was surrounded, expressions of pity and indignation burst from his lips. The Chancellor Olivier, who always inclined to mercy, but had shown himself timid and temporizing, overwhelmed with self-reproach at having shared in the destruction of these brave men, by his want of firmness in resisting the Guises, fell into a profound melancholy, which was succeeded by an acute fever. The Cardinal of Lorraine visited him while in his last agonies, but Olivier recoiled from the sight, March 30. turned his face to the wall, and expired.†

By the influence of Queen Catherine, the high vacant dignity was filled by Michael de L'Hôpital, the greatest chancellor ever known to France, as he

* *Depuis que le bruit des armes avoit fait cesser les promenades et les parties de chasse, il ne leur restoit presque plus d'autre amusement que d'assister à ces scenes tragiques, que l'on avoit l'attention de diversifier chaque jour.*—Garnier, xiv. 416.

† In the *Hist. du Tumulte d'Amboise*, it is said that Olivier expressed deep remorse for the execution of Dubourg; and that when the Cardinal of Lorraine approached his bed-side, he called out in accents of terror, "*Ha, Cardinal! tu nous faites tous damner!*"—p. 328.

is justly described by a contemporary.* To his wise and humane opposition, the general voice of history attributes the failure of a project entertained at that moment to establish the Inquisition in France. In order to counteract that nefarious design, he was compelled to yield assent to the promulgation of a decree, known, from the place at which it was dated, as the *Edict of Romorantin*. This severe ordinance transferred all cognizance of heretics from the civil courts to the jurisdiction of the bishops; and by proposing large rewards, encouraged informers in their denunciations. All assemblies of the Reformed were prohibited, under penalties similar to those inflicted on high treason; and so assured did the president, Le Maitre, feel of their inextricable entanglement in the net of law, that he used to exclaim with delight, "We shall hang them for sedition and strangle them for heresy."† The king, meanwhile, wrote a long account of the conspiracy to the King of Navarre,‡ denouncing the wretched heretics, who, under the cloak of religion and the pretence of succouring and delivering him, had attempted the overthrow of his authority. He then noticed, that in the King of Navarre's own government there were numerous preachers and ministers of Geneva wandering up and down; and among them two, named Boye Normande and David, who the prisoners had confessed were most active in the work of seduction. He felt assured that his good uncle would use all diligence to arrest those traitors, in order that they

* *Le plus grand Chancelier, le plus savant, le plus digne, et le plus universel fut jamais en France.*—Brantome, *Discours*, lxii. tom. v. p. 385. In his *Digression sur M. de l'Hospital*, the same writer records some noble anecdotes of this great man. Although he never avowed the Reformed doctrines, his moderation rendered him suspected, so that it was a common saying at court, "*Dieu nous garde de la Masse de M. de l'Hospital!*" Garnier gives an amusing reason for the assent of the Guises to his appointment; *parce qu'il n'avoit point cessé de les célébrer dans les Poésies Latines qu'on vanloit beaucoup alors, et qu'on ne lit plus aujourd'hui.*—xiv. 418.

† *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 274.

‡ The entire letter is given in the *Mém. de Condé*, i. 398.

might no longer abuse the simplicity of the populace. A notice of the accusations against the Prince of Condé followed; and of these the king expressed his entire disbelief, asserting that he was never better pleased and satisfied with him. In an autograph postscript, he repeated his earnest desire for the seizure of the above named ministers; stating that the King of Navarre could not do him a greater kindness than by confining them in some place of security till they might be delivered up to his own hands, in order to receive the punishment which they so justly merited. This request was instigated by the Guises, for the express purpose of creating embarrassment. They well knew that Boye Normande and David were the two most distinguished ministers of the south, who were constantly entertained at the court of the King of Navarre, and even travelled in his company; and they calculated that his refusal to arrest them must increase the bad impression already entertained against him. The king, however, replied, that he was unacquainted with the present haunts of the delinquents; that he had despatched couriers in pursuit of them; and that, if they reappeared in his dominions, their escape would be difficult.

Three contemporary accounts of the conspiracy of Amboise were offered to the public. One was contained in an oration which the Constable Montmorency was officially instructed to deliver before the parliament of Paris, a task of little honour, and executed with intentional negligence. He spoke of the transaction as a *movement (emeute)* which, although government had been advised of it many months beforehand, might have proved dangerous to the king and royal family, but for the accidental presence of a number of brave and loyal gentlemen at the time of the explosion; he expressed his surprise that persons of base condition should have been permitted to fire some fifty shots at the gates

of Amboise; and he added that one and all of the prisoners protested their design to be levelled at *other persons*, by no means at the king. The Guises were not a little offended at the numerous insinuations contained in this speech. First, the mention of their long foreknowledge implied that they had neglected taking precautionary measures; secondly, the Prince of Condé and his friends were intended by the brave gentlemen who defeated the enterprise; and lastly, they were themselves the *other persons* ostentatiously exhibited as the chief cause of disaffection. In order to dissipate the prejudice which might be thus excited, they published, in a letter from the king to his parliament, a narrative declared to be authentic, and they carefully circulated it not only in France but through all the courts of Europe. Some persons, said this letter, have endeavoured by a false colouring to excuse this damnable and detestable rebellion, but here we will display the truth. The guilt is then divided between certain exiles for other crimes, who desired the subversion of a government by which they had been justly punished, and the heretics who aimed at the establishment of a new religion. These persons had the adroitness to persuade their deluded followers that even princes fostered their design, and would eventually avow themselves its leaders. But the mercy of God, as by a miracle, discovered this odious project but a few days before its execution. After an attempted extenuation of the blood already poured out like water, accompanied by somewhat inconsistent menaces of future punishment, the king concluded by announcing his design of assembling, within six months, a synod of the Gallican Church, for the more rigid establishment of ecclesiastical discipline.* The third and last narrative was put forth by the Reformed. Like the speech

* *Lettres du Roy Francois II. envoyées aux Cours des Parlemens de France. Mém. de Condé, i, 347.*

of the constable, it designates the conspiracy by the light name of *Le Tumulte d'Amboise*,* and openly taxes the Guises with a design upon the crown. The reader, whose object is truth, is thus furnished with more than ordinary means of discovering it by a diligent comparison of these conflicting statements.

On the appearance of a pestilential disorder at Amboise, the court soon transferred itself to Tours, where a ludicrous circumstance occasioned no small alarm to the Guises. A baker in one of the suburbs was much importuned by his only child, a boy of six or seven years of age, to give him a sight of the king's public entry, which was to be conducted with more than ordinary magnificence. The man being a humourist, and intending to amuse his child, mounted him upon an ass, which he took from his mill, and decorated with some of his wife's petticoats for housings. The boy was nearly naked; had his eyes bandaged, and wore on his head a wooden helmet, on the crest of which was fixed the figure of a red-headed parroquet, continually pecking at the child's skull. The ass was led by two youths coloured and habited as Moors. In this silly masquerade the jealous eye of political suspicion discovered an allusion to matters of high state mystery. The blinded boy was said to be the king, the red-headed bird who pecked him was the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Moors, who guided his course at will represented foreign princes; and this far-fetched interpretation of an innocent and unmeaning folly obtained so much belief, that it was with difficulty the royal guard was restrained from sacking and pillaging the city which dared thus openly to manifest its disaffection. It was during this residence of the court in Tours that the term Huguenot first received the preference which it has ever since maintained as the distinguishing title of the French Reformed. To the derivation which we have before

* Ibid. 320.

incidentally mentioned, one other may be added ; an ancient gate in Tours had been named after a certain king, or Count Hugo, a contemporary of Charlemagne ; and popular superstition asserted that the ghost of that personage rode on horseback nightly through the quarter of the city in which the gate was situated, and rudely handled every hapless passenger whom it chanced to encounter. It was in vaults in the neighbourhood of that gate that the Reformed chiefly assembled, and the name, at first bestowed in mockery on that account, was afterward proudly adopted by them, in testimony of their loyal adherence to the line of Hugh Capet.*

On the departure of the court to Tours, the Prince of Condé obtained permission to pay a short visit to his own estates. During this absence, having received information that the Cardinal of Lorraine had collected much scattered evidence against him, and was resolute in pressing the institution of an impeachment, he proceeded to seek asylum in his brother's residence at Nerac, notwithstanding an express recall by the king. But the disaffection of the Huguenots and their league with Condé were not the only perplexities under which the Guises laboured. Public credit was almost annihilated, commerce and agriculture were equally depressed, and it was important that some financial remedy should be discovered, in order to replenish a wholly exhausted treasury. An assembly of the states-general was always hazardous, and to be resorted to only in extremity ; even from the *notables*† dan-

* Davila, i. p. 33 ; *Hist. des. Egl. Ref.* i. 270 ; Garnier, xiv. 433. Castelnau gives one more derivation ; namely, that when the conspirators endeavoured to escape from Amboise, the country people said they were not worth a *Huguenot*, a small coin struck by Hugh Capet, of less value than a *Denier*.—*Mem.* ii. 7. Pasquier refers the name to the ghost of Hugo.

† The *notables*, as the name implies, were a select council of distinguished personages. The assembly called together under that name by Louis XIII. in 1626, is described by Felibien to have been *composée des Princes, des Cardinaux, de plusieurs Archevesques et eves-*

ger might be apprehended in the present general ferment of party spirit; and the Guises, therefore, at length determined to seek relief from an extraordinary council, over which they might retain at least some degree of control, and which might answer the double purpose of obtaining supplies, and of placing the chief leaders of the malcontents within their power.* Accordingly, the princes of the blood, the great officers of the crown, the counsellors of state, and a few other persons of high rank and importance, were summoned to meet at Fontainebleau. The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, however, suspecting a stratagem, declined attendance, and Coligny, assembling his friends and retainers, appeared with a formidable escort Aug. 21.

of eight hundred horsemen. Emboldened by this support, on the opening of the council, he stepped forward to the foot of the throne, and bending one knee, presented a memorial to the king. It was a petition from the inhabitants of Normandy, into whose discontents the admiral had been instructed to inquire. They protested their loyalty and obedience, and their readiness to furnish extraordinary supplies, if demanded by public exigency. At the same time they strongly asserted the right of full liberty of conscience; and since public assemblies for their worship had been hitherto prohibited, and their being compelled to meet in secrecy had given a handle for atrocious imputations, they now humbly

ques, des Conseillers et Secretaires d'Estat, des Intendans des Finances, de plusieurs Gentilshommes representans la Noblesse, des Presidens et Procureurs-Generaux des Parlemens, du Provost des Marchands, et des Officiers des Cours des Aydes.—Hist. de Paris, 1340.

* Davila, whose leading fault is an affectation of intimate knowledge of secret motives, attributes both the council at Fontainebleau and the subsequent meeting of the states-general entirely to the wish of the Guises to secure the persons of their enemies; and he thinks also that the Prince of Condé, whose single destruction would have done more harm than good to their cause, was permitted to escape from Amboise as a stale, by which his colleagues might afterward be more readily enticed into the snare (lib. ii. *ad init.*) In this statement there is perhaps not a little too much refinement.

supplicated his majesty to allow them churches and freedom of religious service.* "This document," said Coligny, "was unsigned, and I at first refused to present it. Gain us but leave to meet, was the answer which I received, and in a single day you shall have fifty thousand signatures!" "And I," retorted the duke of Guise, "will find one hundred thousand, whom I myself will head, who shall sign the contrary with their own blood!"†

The unexpected boldness of this demand, and the appearance of menace with which it was accompanied, excited no small emotion in the council. The sittings continued during several days, and the most remarkable speech delivered in their course was that with which Montluc, Bishop of Valence, as junior member, opened the debate. It is too long for entire insertion in our pages, but we translate the following striking passage, as a proof that not *all* the Romish clergy of those times denounced the great change in religion as productive of unmixed evil; but that there were some prelates among them who, even in the presence of their sovereign, and yet more of so bigoted a persecutor as the Cardinal of Lorraine, had sufficient wisdom, virtue, and courage, to assert general principles of toleration, to unmask the manifest abuses of their own church, and to proclaim the necessity for ecclesiastical reform.

The doctrine, sire, which so many of your subjects have embraced, is not the hasty produce of

* A similar *requeste* was transmitted at the same time to Catherine de Medicis, in which she is once more likened to Esther. Both these papers are given at length in the *Mém de Condé*, ii. 645, 648.

† Pasquier *lettres*, liv. iv. vol. i. p. 183. It is impossible not to be struck with the great sagacity and foresight which this learned and most agreeable writer continually manifests. When relating this incident to his correspondent, M. de Fonssome, he adds, *Cecy nous est un certain prognostic que l'un et l'autre, l'un grand Prince et l'autre grand Seigneur seront quelque jour conducteurs de deux contraires partis qui ne sont encores formez*. And again he speaks of *Les deux miserables mots de faction de Huguenot et Papiste que je crains nous apporta au long aller les mesmes calamitez et miseres que les Guelds et Gibellins dans l'Italie, et la Rose Blanche et Rouge dedans l'Angleterre*.

three or four short days, but it has been ripening gradually during the course of thirty years; it is preached by many hundred ministers, diligent in their calling, skilled in letters, apparently of modest, grave, and holy manners, professing a detestation of all vices, especially of avarice, fearlessly surrendering their lives for the support of their principles, and ever bearing in their mouths the blessed name of Jesus Christ; a name of power sufficient to unseal the dumbest ear, and to soften the hardest heart. These preachers, moreover, sire, having found your people as sheep without the guidance of any shepherds, have been received with joy and listened to with avidity. You ask, perhaps, by what methods this new learning has been opposed? I will begin by his holiness the Pope, concerning whom, let me protest, that I intend to speak with no less honour and reverence than is his just due. Nevertheless, my conscience obliges me to deplore the calamity of these our times in which we have seen Christendom assailed from without, distracted within, and convulsed by diversity of opinions; in which the Popes, careless of church discipline, have turned their whole attention to war, and fomented the quarrels of princes; in which the kings, your predecessors, have enacted sharp penal laws, with too hasty zeal, thus thinking to eradicate these opinions and to bind your people together in unity of faith. But they have been deceived in their hopes and frustrated in their designs. The ministers of justice have greatly abused these ordinances, executing them with evil speed, to gratify informers who have denounced the accused for the sake only of sharing in confiscation. The bishops, for the most part, have been indolent, not calling to mind with salutary fear that they must one day render account to God of the flocks committed to their charge. In good truth, their chief care has been directed, first, to the collection of their revenue, and

afterward to its expenditure in foolish, vicious, and scandalous toys; so that while the flame was blazing in their diocesses, more than forty bishops at a time have been idling in Paris. Add to this, that sees have been conferred on children, and on persons wholly ignorant, neither willing nor indeed able to perform their sacred duties. Alas! the eyes of the church have been bandaged, her pillars have been bowed down and are fallen! Is it to be wondered at that the sectarian ministers should remonstrate with those who lend them their ears, and should tell them that their guides have ceased to offer instruction and to look to the good of their souls; that their priests, for the most part, are ignorant and avaricious, and have purchased their benefices simoniacally! At this very moment in which we so much need a supply of men of zeal, knowledge, and virtue, send but your ducats to Rome and you will have a proportionable stock of priests in return. Every cardinal will have some cook or steward, some valet, barber, or lacquey, ready and gaping for a benefice, and prepared by avarice, ignorance, and debauchery to increase the evil repute of our priesthood. These are the excellent methods which have been chosen to promote peace and unity in our church!"

Again, separating those among the Reformed, who made religion an excuse for political designs, from those who were sincere in their profession, he pleaded thus eloquently for the latter: "Others there are, sire, who have admitted this doctrine, and who maintain it with the true fear of God, and with due reverence for your majesty, against whom they would on no account offend. Look to their lives and to their deaths if you would inquire concerning the motives by which they are actuated! Observe their holy zeal, their vehement desire to find the one true way of salvation, and having found it, to abide therein, and to set at nought in comparison with it

all loss of worldly goods, all deaths under the most excruciating torture ! Yea, often as I call to mind any of those confessors who die thus constantly for their faith, every hair bristles on my head, and I mourn over our own misery, untouched as we are by any sense of God, or of His religion. Surely those whom I describe should be carefully set apart from others who abuse their name, and should never be counted among the seditious. Even if my order and profession did not bind me to protest against the effusion of blood and the severity of criminal punishments in matters concerning faith, I would humbly urge you to look to experience in confirmation of my opinion. When in the history of the world did penal laws ever restrain the progress of religious doctrine ? when, on the contrary, did not the patience of those who suffer under them raise unnumbered partisans to their cause ? Many who would never have heard of the doctrine itself, when they see men die for it, resolve to search whether it be good or evil ; and many having so searched are prepared to die for it themselves, and to follow in the train of the martyrs who have gone before them.”*

These were plain truths which the Guises probably little expected to hear from the lips of a prelate. The admiral, in a following sitting, continued to urge the prayer of the Normans ; and the general sentiments of the assembly inclined towards the convocation of the states-general, and also of a national synod, if the Pope could not be induced to proclaim a general council. The Cardinal of Lorraine undertook to reply to Coligny in particular. The petitioners, he said, called themselves faithful subjects and servants of the king. If they were indeed so, it was nevertheless under a condition, sufficiently implied, although perhaps not openly expressed : namely, that the king would enrol himself among

* *Mém. de Condé*, i. 555. Garnier, xiv. 482. The latter has not ventured to print this speech entire.

their sect, or at least would cease to oppose it. That to grant them the use of churches and the public exercise of their religion, was manifestly to approve their doctrine ; a step which the king could not take without hazarding his salvation, and violating the solemn oath by which he was pledged to maintain the Catholic and Apostolical religion throughout his dominions ; that as to the assembling of a council, whether general or national, he perceived neither its advantage nor its necessity ; the king and the bishops jointly possessed sufficient power for the reformation (if any such were needed) of church discipline, and church doctrine was already fixed by many former councils, on a basis not to be shaken. Was there indeed the slightest hope or the least appearance that those who chiefly clamoured for a council would submit to its decision, if one were obtained ? Did they not seek to model it after their own fashion ? that is, contrary to every received precedent of antiquity. And if their absurd pretensions were rejected, (as no one could doubt that they would be rejected,) would they not immediately declare, according to their custom, that they were sentenced without being heard, and that the bishops were both judges and parties in the suit ? The docility, the meekness, and the charity which animated these perfect Christians, these new evangelicals, might, he said, be measured by the flood of libels in which they poured out the venom of calumny against those who displeased them. That for his own part, having collected no less than two-and-twenty scandalous writings against his single self, he carefully preserved them as so many precious tokens of honour ; so many choice patents of nobility ; for he could not but esteem it as the greatest of all possible eulogies to have encountered the hatred of wretches thus wicked and perverse. For those who were deceived by their own ignorance and credulity, he entertained the most cordial pity ; and since harsh

measures had failed, he did not object to treat them with gentleness. Deeply indeed did he regret that they had been so long confounded with the really guilty; willingly, if he could remove the blindness of their eyes and reconcile them to the church, would he shed for their sakes his last drop of blood. He then, in conclusion, urged the necessity of taking extreme measures against all persons who carried arms in the provinces without permission from the king; recommended residence to the bishops; and agreed to a convocation of the states-general.*

The states-general were accordingly summoned to assemble at Meaux on the 10th of December; and a synod of bishops was convened at Paris for the 20th of January following, provided the Pope did not

* Velly, iv. 107, (where he has cited a long passage from Pasquier, *Recherches de la France*, liv. ii, c. 7. p. 86,) and his continuator, Villaret, v. 64, may be consulted for the obscure origin and history of the states-general of France. Their *constitution* is no where better explained than by Davila, from whom we shall borrow, in the words of his translator Farnsworth. "The French nation is divided into three orders, by them called *states*. The first consists of ecclesiastics, the second of nobility, and the third of the common people. These being divided into thirty districts, or jurisdictions, which they call *Bailliages* or *Seneschaussées*, when a general assembly of the kingdom is to be held, all resort to their chief city, and, separating themselves into three distinct chambers, every one chooses a deputy, who in the name of their body is to assist at the general assembly, wherein all the affairs that concern any of those three orders or the government of the state, are proposed and discussed. In this manner, three deputies are sent by every *Bailliage*; one for the ecclesiastics, one for the nobility, and one for the people, which, by a more honourable term, is called the *third state*. When they are met together in the presence of the king, the princes of the blood, and great officers of the crown, they form the body of the *states-general*, and represent the authority, name, and power of the whole nation. If the king is capable of governing, and is there in person, they have a power to consent to his demands, to propose things necessary for the good of their order, to lay fresh taxes upon the people, and to make or receive new laws and constitutions. But when the king is in his minority, or otherwise incapacitated to govern, they have authority, if there is any dispute about it, to choose a regent, to dispose of the principal offices, and to appoint a council; and if the royal line should fail, to choose a new king according to the Salic law. But besides these great privileges, the kings have always been accustomed to assemble the states-general upon any weighty and urgent occasion, and to determine in all cases of difficulty with their advice and consent."—Book i. vol. i. p. 56.

beforehand proclaim a general council. Pius IV., however, alarmed at this vigorous step which appeared to threaten the suppression of his *Annates* and the re-establishment of the Pragmatic Sanction,* if not a schism equally formidable with that which had rent England from the spiritual dominion of Rome, hastened to declare that the long-expected general council would meet at Trent during the ensuing Easter. It was a similarly overpowering necessity which had compelled the Guises to consent to the assembling of the states-general. The late council at Fontainebleau had proved nugatory as to the provision of supplies; and new intimations of the restlessness and pertinacity with which Condé was pursuing his hostile designs, obtained by the seizure of papers on one of his emissaries, made them more than ever anxious, at all hazards, to secure his person. An attempt to surprise Lyons was traced to the machinations of the Bourbons, and wherever discontent arose, their agents were visible. The Guises foresaw that without risking an open breach with the king, Condé could not be so far guilty of disrespect as to neglect his citation to the most solemn of all national meetings; and if he were once again within their grasp, it would be their own fault if he were ever disentangled.

The directly opposite qualities of the two Bourbon princes tended, under these circumstances, to produce in each a similar determination; and the King of Navarre, prompted by his moral timidity, the Prince of Condé by his fearlessness, respectively notified an intention of obeying the summons of the court. His pensions, his government, his vast possessions in various provinces, his principality of Bearne once already exposed to seizure, the remnant of his kingdom of Navarre, upon which Spain was ever on the watch to make a stealthy spring,—all these were strong links to bind Antony to peace. The Hugue-

* See p. 15.

nots indeed made splendid proffers of support, but could they realize these large promises? they were almost untried; they might ignorantly miscalculate or wilfully exaggerate their power; they were widely scattered; were they able at a given moment to form a junction by which they might usefully co-operate? The king, on the other hand, had a large and efficient army ready to move at a word; and if he called in the alliance of Madrid, no fate short of destruction could be anticipated from his anger. The Prince of Condé, of widely different temper, unclouded by apprehension of dangers yet to come, unappalled by those which were real and present, above all, immeasurably confident in his illustrious rank, at first refused to admit that any hazard existed; and when in the end he was forced to acknowledge that the step was in truth perilous, he generously declared that his own single stake of life was of little value, if weighed against the loss of life, wealth, and crown, which his brother might encounter; and he resolved to partake his fortune, and to accompany him to the assembly.

Orleans was substituted for Meaux, which swarmed with Huguenots, as the city at which the states were to assemble; and measures having been taken to disarm the inhabitants, the king, Oct. 18. heading a large body of troops, made a public entry, more intended to strike terror than to display magnificence,* about the middle of October. The Bourbons, meantime, journeyed slowly from Bearne, and their route was carefully watched at every step of its progress. Theodore Beza accompanied them to Nerac, and thence, travelling by night, and not without danger, returned home to Geneva. More than once, the King of Navarre's resolution failed; and when arrived at Muerdon, in Perigaud, he counterfeited illness, and wrote excuses to Catherine. Ashamed, or reassured, he proceeded on to Limoges,

* *Non lætâ, ut aliàs solitum, sed terribili pompâ urbem ingressus.* De Thou, xxvi. 2.

where he found eight hundred gentlemen of distinction, each accompanied by an armed suite, who tendered their personal services; offered six thousand infantry, already raised in Poitou and La Santonge; the assurance of four thousand more from Provence and Languedoc; and of an equal number from Normandy. All these troops were to be subsidized by the Reformed churches for two months. Was it not more politic, they asked, at once to embrace the bolder part, by openly avowing himself their chief, than to place himself defenceless at the mercy of his enemies, with no other guarantee than the word of a faithless woman? But the blood of Antony flowed in too dull and equable a current to partake of the generous warmth which animated his suitors. He coldly promised that if the court thought to molest them for having thus contravened its last orders by appearing in arms, he would make it his business to plead their cause. Human patience could scarcely be expected to endure a reply so little in accordance with their present excited feelings. "It is *your* cause, Monseigneur, not *ours*," was the parting remark of one of these brave gentlemen, "which will require your attention; you will soon enough have need of an advocate. For ourselves we have still our swords; and since our natural leaders abandon us, we must look elsewhere for others!"

But notwithstanding every warning, the princes moved on as if stricken with judicial blindness. The Princess of Condé, tenderly attached to her husband, and warned from sources which did not admit of doubt, wrote with her own hand, by a confidential messenger, that he was lost if he entered Orleans. The brothers treated her alarm either as visionary, or as excited by a stratagem of the Guises, seeking to make them disobey the royal mandate. Soon afterward they were met by an officer, who signified, with some rudeness, on the part of the king, that they must travel only on the high roads, and not

enter any fortified town. They asked for his orders, but his instructions had been only verbal, and the King of Navarre, instead of resisting them, a second time feigned sickness, took to his bed, and remonstrated with Catherine, who, of course, disavowed the prohibition. Fresh warnings of intended treachery poured in from friends of the princes, who exhorted them to instant flight, and promised men, money, and fortresses, if they would but hasten to Normandy. But it was now almost too late for the attempt—another day rendered escape impossible. Two hundred lancers and six hundred foot-soldiers awaited them at Poitiers, as a pretended guard of honour. Surrounded by this formidable Oct. 31. escort, they were hurried on to Orleans, where the great gates of the palace remained barred and unopened at their approach. The King of Navarre was at length admitted on horseback, but the prince alighted in the street, and was compelled to gain entrance through a wicket.* No attendant was waiting to receive them; as they traversed the royal apartments, sentinels met their eyes at every step; and few of the courtiers saluted or even recognised them. In the audience chamber, the king, attended by the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, heard their compliments with a distant air, and motioned them to accompany him to the closet of the queen mother. Catherine uttered a shriek, and burst into tears at their entrance;† and the king, sternly addressing Condé, stated that he was accused of treason, and must justify himself. When the prince, with an unmoved countenance, expressed his readiness to rebut every calumny which might be advanced against him. “It is right,” said the king, “that you should be heard in your defence;” and

* Brantome was an eye-witness of this affront: *il entra dans le logis du Roy, non à cheval, comme le Roy son frere, comme aucuns ont dit, car le vis, mais ayant mis pied à terre.* Discours, lxxx. 1. tom, p. 334.

† *Obortis seu veris seu fictis lacrymis.* De Thou, xxvi. 3.

then ordering two captains of his body guard to place the prince under arrest, quitted the chamber. Oct. 31. Condé was transferred to a house prepared beforehand for his confinement, in which the windows were strongly barred, and many of the doors had been walled up; in front, also, was a bastion planted with artillery, and commanding the three streets by which it was approached. All communication with his brother, and even with his wife, unless in the presence of witnesses, was strictly forbidden. Numerous arrests followed his own; and among them that of his mother-in-law, the Dame du Roye, a woman of high spirit, who, in her confidential intercourse with the queen mother, had not concealed her aversion from the Guises, and who had consequently excited suspicion. The King of Navarre, although not formally arrested, was placed under the most vigilant *surveillance*; and he encountered the bitter mortification of being compelled to solicit the Cardinal of Lorraine, and of finding his entreaties received with haughty coldness.* The queen mother preserved a strict and ominous silence, and when the Princess of Condé threw herself at the king's feet, she was sternly informed that justice must take its course.

Commissioners, selected from the parliament of Paris, were instructed to arrange Condé's accusation without delay; and their president was Christopher de Thou, father of the historian. Turning to him on his first interrogatory, Condé expressed surprise that *he* "the most knowing of all the round caps in the kingdom†" should be ignorant that a prince of the blood could not be tried otherwise than by the

* Here again we have the ocular testimony of Brantome. *Je le vis deux fois venir trouver M. Le Cardinal de Lorraine, en son jardin une fois et l'autre en sa chambre, pour le prier pour interceder pour son frere: mais il parloit a luy plus souvent decouvert que couvert; et l'autre se mettoit tres-bien a son ayse, car il faisoit grand froid.* Disc lxxx. l. om. vi. p. 334.

† *Tous les bonnets ronds de Roiaum*: Gar er, xiv. 572.

king in person, assisted by the other princes, the peers of France, and the whole parliament; he therefore protested, in this and all following stages, against their proceedings. His objection was overruled; and by a threat that he should be condemned without farther process if he persisted in refusing to plead, he was prevailed upon to commit his defence to the two bold and able counsellors who had before advocated the cause of the persecuted Dubourg. A few additional commissioners were named by the king to swell the ambiguous and illegal court before which the cause was to be heard. The prince, who confined himself to rebutting the charge of participation in the conspiracy of Amboise, and in the more recent attempt at Lyons, made an open admission of his religion: and upon evidence, which probably was distinct and clear, notwithstanding the general iniquity of the mock trial, he was pronounced guilty and adjudged to lose his head. De Thou states his belief,—upon the authority of his father, from whose lips, he says, he had often heard the fact,—that the judges, when compelled by the proofs before them to deliver this sentence, were nevertheless so conscious of their own want of legitimate authority, and so opposed to the bloody violence of the predominating faction, that they minuted, but never actually signed the decree. Unhappily, the registers of the parliament disprove this assertion, which it were to be wished had been true.* It is believed, however, that the Chancellor de l'Hôpital, and Guillart de Mortier, one of the counsellors of state, delayed their signatures till the latest possible day, in the hope of gaining time and of reversing the sentence;

* Walckenaer, in a note on Henault, ii. 583, Ed. 1821. Henault observes that the sentence on Condé reminds him of the pointed speech of a celestin monk of Marcoussi, who was showing to Francis I. the tomb of Jean de Montagu, Grand Master of France, beheaded on a false accusation in the reign of Charles VII. The king lamented that so great a minister should have been condemned to death by justice. The monk replied, *Pardonnez moi, sire, ce fut par des Commissaires.*

and a single aged nobleman, Louis de Beuil, Comte de Sancerre, refused, even to the end, any attestation of his own disgrace. Although a sincere Romanist and a personal friend of the Guises, he did not hesitate to speak plainly to the king when pressed to compliance "Any other service which your majesty may command shall be performed while there is life in my body. But I will rather place my head beneath the axe of the executioner, than bequeath as a heritage to my children the infamy of reading their father's name subscribed to a capital sentence against a prince whose descendants may one day become their kings."* The Cardinal of Lorraine represented Sancerre as fallen into dotage; Francis himself was inexorable; and the 10th of December, the day on which the states-general were to be opened, was fixed for the execution.

The fortitude of Condé increased with his increasing peril; and the menace of approaching death seemed but to confirm his lofty spirit in its inflexibility. A priest was sent to his chamber to perform mass; and the prince dismissed him before he could commence the service, with a remark that he had come to Orleans for very different purposes. A gentleman of distinguished birth, long admitted to his familiarity, but latterly engaged under the Guises, basely permitted himself to be employed as their agent, to discover the real state of the prisoner's mind. Having expressed his deep sympathy and regret, he ventured to hint at accommodation with his great enemies, to which he offered himself as mediator. The prince listened without interruption till he had concluded, then taxed him with his preconcerted mission, and desired him to reply, that the sole accommodation to which he could ever consent must be made at the sword's point. The King of Navarre, on the contrary, lived in perpetual terror. Rumours of intended assassination were hourly

* *Mém. de Castelnau par Le Laboureur*, i. 514. Garnier, xiv. 375.

poured into his ears; at one time he was to be poisoned at a banquet; at another to be shot during a hunting party; at a third to be stabbed by the hand of the king himself. It has been said, indeed, that he was absolutely enticed for that purpose to the king's bed chamber; that having twice uselessly declined the treacherous summons, he went forewarned of his intended murder and resolved to sell his life most dearly; that the Guises were in attendance; the Cardinal of Lorraine barred the door immediately on his entrance, and the king addressed him rudely with the intention of provoking an indignant answer. The King of Navarre, however, replied with gentleness; and Francis, either unable to fasten upon him the blame of a quarrel, or staggered by his unexpected and meek demeanour, rose and quitted the chamber without fulfilling his bloody purpose; the Duke of Guise, as he passed, remarking, "never was there so great a poltroon!"*

November was fast approaching to its close, and the fate of Condé appeared irrevocably sealed, when the king was attacked by alarming symptoms, and his probable demise at once changed the whole position of the court. The Guises, indeed, would gladly have hurried Condé to the scaffold, and have commenced an impeachment of the King of Navarre while Francis was yet alive. But it was by no means the interest of the queen mother to strengthen their hands, already far too powerful; and if in the ensuing reign of her second and infant son Charles, she might hope to recover any of the influence which had been wrested from her in the present, her

* Garnier, xiv. 577, relates this story on the authority of La Planche, without, however, attaching much credit to it. The King of Navarre, before obeying the summons, instructed Ranti, one of his attendants, in whom he placed much confidence, to preserve his bloody shirt, if he should be murdered, and to request the queen, his consort, to show it to their son, whenever he was of sufficient age to become his avenger. De Thou xxvi. 5, writes much to the same purpose, and dismisses the whole matter as doubtful: *ut vera ac certa minime affirmaverim*.

object could be compassed only by preserving a more equable balance of parties. The counsels also of the sincere and upright De L'Hôpital, upon which she fortunately threw herself in these difficulties, materially aided the cause of the princes. Temporizing, therefore, with that dissimulation of which she had so consummate a mastery, she assured the Guises that she considered their interests identified with her own, and that it was necessary for all their sakes that they should be reconciled to the Bourbons; while, at the same time, she so far worked upon the fears of the King of Navarre as to prevail upon him to renounce his claim to the sole regency, during the approaching minority. Then, prompting his part also to her dying son, she obtained from his docility an avowal, in the presence of the yet hostile parties and of numerous witnesses, that whatever steps had been taken against the Prince of Condé, originated entirely from himself, and were pursued contrary to the advice of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine. False as all parties must have believed or known that declaration to be, it was considered sufficient to warrant an exchange of professions of future amity between the late deadly enemies; and Francis, having witnessed this reconciliation, expired on the 5th of December, but five days before that morning which he had determined should be the last of Condé's existence.

CHAPTER V.

Assembly of the States-General—Speech of Quentin—Bold Memorial of the Huguenots—Their 11d National Synod—Release of Condé—Formation of the Triumvirate—Edict of July—Ostensible reconciliation of Condé and the Duke of Guise—Colloquy at Poissy—Peter Martyr and Beza—Beza's interview with the Cardinal of Lorraine—Opening of the Colloquy—Speech of Beza—Reply of the Cardinal of Lorraine—Arrival of the Cardinal Legate of Ferrara—Second Speech of Beza—Reply of Despence—Of De Xaintes—Beza's explanation—Stratagem of the Cardinal of Lorraine—Beza's remonstrance—Speech of Peter Martyr—Of Lainez, General of the Jesuits—Private Conference of the disputants—Termination of the Colloquy.

CHARLES IX. was in his eleventh year when called to the throne by this unexpected demise of his brother; and the chief apprehension of Catherine, on succeeding to the full authority which she had thus dexterously obtained during his minority, arose from the approaching meeting of the states-general. Notwithstanding every precaution, a numerous body of Huguenots must be found among the deputies, and their proceedings before the conspiracy of Amboise had sufficiently evinced their determination to make the regency depend upon constitutional election. If they predominated therefore in the ensuing assembly, she foresaw that her power would be at an end, and that all authority would be transferred to the Bourbon brothers. When the three estates met on the appointed 13th of December, the Cardinal of Lorraine earnestly wished, on many accounts, to be elected orator for the ecclesiastical chamber. At all times prompt to display the eloquence which he was conscious of possessing, he now more than ever desired to show that, although no longer minister, he still retained his former personal consideration. But in this hope he was disappointed. The nobles and the *tiers-etât* coldly declined the proposition of the clergy by fixing upon

Jean Quentin, professor of canon law and deputy from the University of Paris; and never was an important office less discreetly bestowed. Quentin's speech teemed with bitterness against the Reformed; he urged the king to exterminate by fire and sword "those rebellious inventors of novel and execrable sacraments;" and among the historical precedents from which he said that salutary advice might be derived, he pointed especially to an incident in the reign of the emperor Arcadius. Under that prince, Gairas, master general of the forces, projected the overthrow of the throne, and in order to compass his design, leagued with the Arians; "a sect," exclaimed the professor, "truly identical with the modern pretended Reformed." One of the requests of Gairas was for permission to appropriate a church in Constantinople, in which, together with his sectarian brethren, he might celebrate service; and when the patriarch Chrysostom peremptorily refused assent, the traitor threw off the masque and perished miserably in his rebellion.

This passage in Quentin's speech excited no small movement in the chamber. It was scarcely possible to suppose that he had not intended to establish a parallel between the Byzantine insurgent and Coligny; and indeed the points of resemblance, as he had exhibited them, were confessedly numerous. Not to mention the similarity of sound between Gairas and Gaspard, the office of master general of the forces, was akin to that held by the admiral; and the demand of a church in Constantinople brought to mind the petition which Coligny had presented at the council of Fontainebleau, praying that the nobles might erect meeting-houses for the Reformed on their own estates. The attack was presented accordingly; the admiral made strong representations of the personal affront which he had endured, and the Huguenot nobles demanded the erasure from the acts of the assembly of all

those offensive passages in which they had been stigmatized as libertines, Gnostics, Montanists, or Arians, and their religion confounded with almost every former heresy by which Christendom had been distracted. After no small delay and discussion, it was agreed that, before the close of the sitting, Quentin should declare that in his first speech he had not meditated any personal allusion. The unhappy orator, overwhelmed by songs, satires, lampoons, and epigrams, and deeply suffering under the humiliation of offering a disavowal to which no one attached credit, died of chagrin, within a few months after he had filled the office most esteemed and coveted by his ecclesiastical brethren.

Before the last day's sitting, however, a memorial of unusual boldness was presented by a deputation of Huguenot ministers, whom the King of Navarre introduced to the young monarch in his council chamber. It spoke of their disappointment at the course pursued by the states-general, in whose assembly the wickedness of certain powerful individuals had, contrary to all equity, deprived them of their just hopes, by imposing silence on every matter which concerned religion. It characterized Quentin by the untranslatable title of "*Ce beau Latiniseur du Clergé*," who had impudently prohibited the king from receiving, and the lords of the council from presenting any request in their behalf. It urged the king not to listen to calumnies against the best and soundest portion of his subjects; to suspend the processes to which they were daily exposed in courts of law; to consider the absurdity of persecuting Christians who acknowledged one gospel and one creed, while he tolerated Jews and Mahomedans; and to grant his brethren in the faith as much liberty in a Christian land as they would find in the dominions of the Sultan. After declaring the unalterable loyalty of the petitioners, it concluded with a prayer that they might be allowed to assemble

without arms, at whatever places and times the king might please to specify, under the inspection of any officers whom he might appoint to observe their transactions. The memorial was received, but it was stated that its heads required deliberation, and its discussion was therefore postponed to a more convenient season.

The disorders of the revenue had by no means been corrected by this futile meeting of the states-general; and that body having been declared incompetent to its task, in consequence of the death of the late king, was summoned to assemble at Melun, after a fresh election of deputies, in the course of

March 10, the ensuing May. Anterior to that meet-
1561. ing, the Huguenots held their IId synod.

Poitiers was the spot selected for their discussions, and there a strong memorial was drawn up to be laid before the council of deputies on their first sitting, urging the establishment of a legitimate regency, as the only means of obtaining a satisfactory answer to the requests tendered at Orleans, by the King of Navarre. The articles of discipline agreed upon by the Ist synod at Paris were corrected and enlarged in a few unimportant points; and in these canons the austere spirit of Calvinism once or twice exhibited itself in petulant hostility to innocent amusements. "All consistories," it is said, "shall be admonished by their ministers, that they do strictly forbid all dancing, mummeries, and tricks of jugglers" (Art. XI.;) and among the "particular matters" propounded as cases of conscience, "upon mature deliberation, it is decreed that whoso professeth a trade of dancing, and hath been divers times admonished, and doth not quit it, shall be excommunicated." We read with far greater pleasure an article conceived in a generous spirit of charity, that "all violent and injurious words against the Papists, as also against their chaplains, priests, and monks, shall not only be forborne, but to the

utmost of the church's power shall be suppressed" (general matters, VIII.) Some delicate points relative to promises of marriage were discussed; and the nice scruples by which the Reformed allowed themselves to be perplexed are sufficiently evinced by the last question to which their pastors are entreated to reply. "May he be admitted to communicate in the bread only at the Lord's table who hath an antipathy to wine?"—"Yes, he may, provided that he do his utmost to drink of the cup; but in case he cannot, he shall make a protestation of his antipathy" (XXXI.)

The memorial concerning the regency was plainly the chief object for which this otherwise unimportant synod had been convened; and coupled with the release of the Prince of Condé, which occurred about the same time, it occasioned some extraordinary political revolutions at court. On the moment of the demise of the late king, Catherine had announced to Condé that he was free; but the high-minded prince considering it a point of honour not to owe his liberty to the accident of the king's dissolution, renewed his protest against the illegality of all the proceedings in his case; demanded a solemn *Arrêt* in his favour, authenticated by the parliament of Paris; and until his innocence was thus formally established remained a voluntary prisoner.* The *Arrêt* was obtained after some formal and technical delays, and Condé on his return to the capital, found his party very greatly strengthened. The electoral states, composed principally of Huguenots, recommended the exclusion of the Guises, as being foreigners, from the royal councils; and Catherine found herself obliged, if she hoped to

* Two letters, written by Condé during this period of his imprisonment, and characterized by great nobleness of spirit, (one to the King of Navarre, the other to the queen mother,) may be found in the *Mém. de Condé*, ii. 388. In the first he states, that he has had full experience of the good will of the Guises, and perceive *quels cousins ce sont*.

retain even partial authority, to proclaim the King of Navarre lieutenant-general of the kingdom. But the states had not confined their declaration to this single matter; they had adverted to the crown debts, and had urged the resumption of the extravagant donations which the prodigality of Henry II. had lavished on his favourites, among whom the constable was particularized by name. This invidious denouncement completed the alienation of Montmorency from the Reformed; and the bitterness of spirit which the affront awakened, no less than a real community of interests, determined him to lay aside the jealousy which had long separated him from the Guises. Their union was completed by the mediatory influence of a third party, the Maréchal de St. André; who having tasted, perhaps more than any other, of the inconsiderate bounty of Henry, had stronger reasons also than others for opposing the projected restitution of plunder. St. André—"a true Lucullus," as he is elegantly termed by the accommodating charity of Brantome,* or, as he is characterized by the more homely indignation of the historian of the French Reformed churches,† "a man altogether surrendered to gluttony and its consequent vices, and from the original poverty of his family not having wherewithal to furnish his pleasures"—had, by dint of talent, courage, and agreeable manners, risen, almost in youth, from the post of first gentleman of the bed-chamber to the envied dignity of Maréchal of France. By Henry II. he had been employed on various important and honourable missions; and among them was one to England, when he conveyed to Edward VI. the collar of the order of St. Michael, and was presented in return for his royal master and for himself with that of the garter.‡ For these and other services he

* Discours, lxxxii. 1. tom. vi. p. 404. † i. 68.

‡ Brantome, *ut. sup.*, where we learn that during the reign of Charles IX. the garter was worn in the French court on St. George's day, by the king himself, by the Maréchal de St. André, and by the

had been enriched both by the private largesses of Henry, and also by numerous confiscations of the estates of persons banished on account of religion. The restitution of this wealth, indeed, if demanded, was impossible ; it had been shared in part with the royal favourite, the Duchess de Valentinois, in part scattered in profuse and inordinate luxury ; in the embellishments of a costly seat at Valéry surpassing in magnificence any of the royal palaces ; and in the maintenance of a table, which, from its elaborate and more than Apician science, appears to have been justly exposed to the sarcasm of Beza.* But although unable to refund, St. André might be called to severe account for that which he had expended, and be stripped of all which he retained ; and his most favourable chance of diverting the menaced storm appeared to be derived from an alliance of parties once violently opposed, but which now by his consummate knowledge of mankind he succeeded in uniting. This union of the Duke of Guise, the constable, and the Maréchal de St. André, is known in contemporary history by the name of the Triumvirate ; a name probably bestowed by the Huguenots, in order to assimilate it both in character and in odium to the detestable confederacies so called in ancient Rome.

The reconciliation of the constable with the Duke of Guise was soon a matter of notoriety, but it did not produce any immediate result. Both retired awhile from court ; the former under the pretext of celebrating the nuptials of a son, the latter avowedly to disembarass the council from his presence.

Constable Montmorency, *ce qui estoit une chose belle à voir, car la solennité en est tres belle, avec la Jarretiere, dont l'institution est fort antique, et plus que de tous les autres, fors celui de l'Annonciade de Savoye qu'on tient la plus ancienne.* 405. 6.

* *Il a esté fort subject de tout temps à aymer ses ayses, ses plaisirs, et grands luxes de table. C'a esté le premier de son temps qui les a introduits à la Cour, et certes par trop excessifs, disoit-on, en friandises et delicatesses de viandes, tant de chairs que de poissons, et autres friands mangers, is the admission of Brantome, ut sup.*

During their absence, an edict long in preparation was issued, containing some provisions very favourable to the Huguenots. The right of search in private houses on suspicion of heretical meetings was forbidden, on pain of death, to any but magistrates; all prisoners for religious offences were enlarged; and those in exile were permitted either to return and live unmolested within the kingdom, provided they avoided occasion of scandal; or to select their own place of retirement, after equitable disposal of their property. The parliament of Paris, offended at the tolerant spirit of this ordinance, refused to register it; but the publicity which it had already received so far encouraged the Huguenots in the capital that they ventured upon more than usual openness in their meetings, and even obtained the advantage in a tumult which their fearless conduct had excited, and in which several lives on both sides were sacrificed.

The pleasing hopes excited by this demonstration of the mild intentions of government were not diminished by an unexpected proposition from the Cardinal of Lorraine, made immediately after the
 May 15. *Sacré* of the young king, in a council of state held at Rheims. He expressed his readiness as chief prelate of the Gallican Church, to consent that, in the ensuing assembly of the states-general, the clergy should meet separately from the two other orders, for the purpose of reviewing the existing condition of ecclesiastical discipline; that, to avoid misconstruction by the Pope and Catholic priests, their assembly should not be termed a national council; but that the king might permit the attendance of the most distinguished Reformed theologians, in order to discuss controverted points with the Catholic divines. The Reformed could then no longer bruit abroad that calumny which they had hitherto so widely propagated, that the Catholics had no other argument than the stake which they could oppose to reason and to truth.

For his own part, so confident was he in the superiority of his cause, that he now publicly declared, that although less profoundly versed in polemics than a professed theologian, he would readily measure himself with any antagonist who might offer, were it even Calvin himself.

The Reformed accepted this defiance with alacrity, and the council agreed to it unanimously: * Poissy was the spot named for the ecclesiastical conference, Pontoise for the assembly of the nobility and *tiers-etât*; both of them towns in the immediate neighbourhood of St. Germain's. But the council meantime adjourned to Paris, and there, leavened by a deputation of members from the parliament, all bitterly hostile to the Reformed interests, deliberated twenty continuous days on the chief matters contained in the recent and as yet unregistered ordinance. The result was a new instrument, known from the month in which it was enacted as the *Edict of July*. It was carried by a majority of only three voices, and grievously were the Huguenots dismayed by its persecuting tenour. All assemblies, public or private, held by armed or unarmed persons, in which sermons were preached or the Lord's Supper administered, contrary to the forms of the Church of Rome, were forbidden, on pain of forfeiture of bodily liberty and confiscation of property; the Reformed ministers were proscribed; and the cognizance of heresy, in conformity with the Edict of Romorantin, was assigned to the bishops only; with this single provision in favour

* The Cardinal of Lorraine doubtless was prompted by vanity in making this proposal. Catherine assented, because *at that time* the ascendancy of the Huguenots, which she thought would be increased by the colloquy, was useful to her interests. But in a letter to the Bishop of Rennes, written during the sittings, that crafty woman assigned a directly opposite motive. *Il n'y avoit meilleur moyen, ny plus fructueux, pour faire abandonner les dits ministres et retirer ceux qui leur adherent, que en faisant confondre leur doctrine, et decouvrant ce qu'il y a d'erreur et d'Herésie.* *Memoires de Castelnau. Additions par Le Laboureur, i. 733.* If such had been her true reason, miserably indeed would she have failed in her design.

of the offenders whom, on conviction, they should deliver to the secular arm, that their punishment was not to be extended beyond exile.*

It is not to be imagined, however, that this edict, intolerent as were its provisions, could silence those who, fearless of martyrdom, were prepared, under every hazard, to avow the truth; and an incident of lighter character, which agreeably relieves many a sickening tale of persecution, at once proves how little the fervour of the Reformed was diminished, and how anxiously the Romish priests called to their aid the mighty weight of public opinion as an assistant of the law. In the village of Montmorillon, on the borders of Poitou and Limosin, a church had been founded, chiefly by the zeal of Francis de la Ponge, who, after much exercise in the study of Scripture, resolved to devote his future years to the ministry. Before delivering his first sermon, he had mortified himself by a long preparatory course of fasting and abstinence; and when he mounted the pulpit, overcome by bodily weakness, and yet more by the solemnity of the holy duty in which he was about to engage, after the few opening words, he paused without being able to recover himself, and continued mute for a long time, with his hands clasped and his eyes raised to Heaven. Breaking at length from his trance, as it were, and resuming self-possession, he defied Satan again to prevent his labour of love; bade him avaunt as one bound and chained by God, who would bestow His grace upon the pious work now commenced; and in proof of this assertion, he preached upon the spot for two good hours. Meantime, one of the enemy, on observing De la Ponge's nervous seizure, ran off to the neighbouring village, and announced that the minister had suddenly turned black in the face, and that the Devil had wrung his neck. The priests, overjoyed at so seasonable a miracle, as-

* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 468, where the edict is printed at length.

sembled in the church, carried abroad the host in procession, and announced this righteous judgment of God; till, arriving at the Reformed assembly, they were driven back with shame and confusion, upon discovering the preacher yet alive, and persevering in an animated discourse, little likely as yet to arrive at its conclusion.*

One event which occurred before the assembling of the states-general demands notice, as intimately connected with the history of the great leader of the Huguenots. The Prince of Condé still continued to attribute his arrest and peril of death during the late king's reign to the machinations of the Duke of Guise, and earnestly looked for an opportunity of satisfying his resentment. Since his release from confinement, however, the Duke of Guise had been absent from court; latterly employed in escorting to Calais his niece the unhappy Mary of Scotland, on her passage to her native dominions. When his duties as grand master of the palace recalled him to St. Germain's, in order that he might officiate at the approaching solemnity, the Prince of Condé summoned his friends, and made evident preparations for a hostile decision of the quarrel. To prevent so fatal an interruption of the public repose, and the probable effusion of illustrious blood even within the verge of the palace, Catherine interposed the mediation of the king, who having previously arranged the necessary forms with the constable, summoned the rivals to his chamber. There, in the presence of the most distinguished personages of the court, he addressed the queen as follows: "Madam, I have assembled this company in order to adjust the differences between the Prince of Condé and Monsieur de Guise, who, I trust, will not refuse a settlement for the good of my service and of the kingdom. To the end, therefore, that the prince may know what he ought to believe, M. de Guise

* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 765.

will first tell him how matters have passed." The duke replied, according to the constable's dictation, "Sire, since you are pleased that I should give an explanation of past matters to M. le Prince, I will now do so. Monsieur, I have neither practised nor wished to practise against your honour, nor was I the author, mover, or instigator, of your imprisonment." To which the prince replied, "Monsieur, I esteem as base and bad men any person or persons who occasioned it."—"I believe so," said the duke, "and the remark in no wise affects me." Then the king bade them embrace, and be good friends. Such is the account of this remarkable scene, in which, while it is difficult to believe that the Duke of Guise acted a sincere part, it is quite evident, from the *fiercé* of the Prince of Condé's reply, that he attached very little credit* to his declaration.

The clergy in general viewed the assembly at Poissy with suspicion, and of one hundred and thirty bishops who had been summoned, scarcely fifty were present when the king opened the sittings on the 30th of July. The chancellor omitted all political matters in his speech, and so entirely considered the meeting as a national council, that the

* Beza considered the explanation to be altogether hollow. In a letter to Calvin he relates its particulars, and adds, that on conversing with the Prince of Condé afterward, *rogatus quid sentirem*, "*verba illa ambiguitatem præ se ferre*" *respondi*. *Calvini Op.* viii. 154. Brantome, a professed eulogist of the Duke of Guise, omits the first speech, and makes him do no more than reply to the prince's declaration, "*qu'il le croyoit, mais que cette parole ne luy concernoit ny touchoit en rien*," words, the subtilty and finesse of which he very highly applauds. Some persons, he says, maintained that the duke had apologized, *mais les plus clairvoyans et les plus subtils et pointilleux esprits en matieres chevaleresques disoient que M. de Guise avoit très sagement et subtilement respondu, en mode d'un Seigneur très bien entendu en telles affaires, ainsi qu'il estoit ; comme celui qui vouloit dire qu'il n'y avoit nul autre qui eut esté cause n'y motif de cet emprisonnement que luy mesme, que l'on disoit avoir commis le péché et fait la faute, pour avoir esté mis en prison ; et par ainsi, il y eut bien là du bigu, ainsi que l'on en disoit à la Cour, et qu'il y alloit de l'un plus que de l'autre : or, devinés-le. Discours*, lxxviii. tom. vi.

Cardinal de Tournon,* who as dean of the sacred college and primate of France, was elected president, expressed great dissatisfaction. Considering how offensive to Rome must be any proceedings which should interfere with the proposed general council at Trent, he declared that the present discussion should in no wise concern faith, but be strictly limited to discipline. A step taken by Catherine was less calculated to tranquillize the apprehensions of the vatican. Having consulted, as is supposed, with Montluc, Bishop of Aug. 4. Valence, she addressed to the Pope an explanatory letter, pointing out the necessity of the conference to which she had agreed, on account of the great number of Separatists. Nevertheless, she assured the holy father that, through God's grace, France had not produced any Anabaptists, libertines, deniers of the apostles' creed or of its interpretation by the sacred Œcumenical councils. She then insinuated that there were many points on which perhaps the church might think it prudent to relax, in order to conciliate those who, by such indulgence, might be restored to its communion. Was it not possible that the use of images, forbidden by God and condemned by St. Gregory, might be removed, so far at least as adoration was concerned? Might not exorcism and other unessential forms in baptism be omitted; so that water alone should be employed according to the direction of Scripture? The insertion of the priest's saliva into the infant's mouth, it was added, not only appeared unnecessary, but in many cases was even dangerous. The administration of the eucharist to the laity in one kind only gave offence; and the decree of the council of

* *Un vieux rautier en affaires d'Estat.* Pasquier, *Lettres*, liv. iv. tom. i. p. 198. Brantome, who characterizes him in similar words, admits that he was surpassed in dexterity by Catherine; *tout viel roturier de prudence et de conseil qu'il estoit, ma foy, la Reyne en scavoit plus que luy, ny que tout le Conseil du Roy ensemble.* *Discours*, ii. tom. ii. p. 275.

Constance, by which that practice was supported, ought not to be allowed to weigh against the word of God. Many other particulars relative to the host, it was thought might be advantageously reformed; the vernacular tongue might be substituted for Latin in the prayers; and psalmody might be admitted as a portion of the public service.* These propositions, although made with a show of the humblest deference to pontifical authority, were little likely to be grateful to the ears of Pius IV. But he dissembled his anxiety, and replied with gentleness, that the unity of the church demanded the reference of matters so weighty as those upon which the queen had touched, to a general council; that he relied upon her wisdom and piety not to permit the conference to attempt more than a provisional reform of such particular abuses in discipline as might have crept into the Gallican Church; and that even for the consideration of those matters, he wished her to await the arrival of a legate, who was at that time on his journey.

The disputants, however, were already assembled at Poissy, and Catherine proceeded to array them against each other without delay. The Reformed band consisted of twelve ministers;† each accompanied by two lay deputies, the most distinguished gentlemen of their respective provinces.‡ Two of the most experienced controversialists of the day had been summoned as their leaders, Peter Martyr from Zurich, and Theodore Beza from Geneva. The

* De Thou, xxviii. 6.

† Augustin Marlorat, Francois de St. Pol, Josef Raimond Merlin, Jean Malot, Francois de Morel, Nicolas Thobie, Claude de la Boissiere, Jean Bouquin, Josef Viret, Jean de la Tour, Nicolas des Gallards, and Jean de l'Espine. De Thou, xxviii. 6. Besides the authorities cited in the course of our narrative for the different occurrences at Poissy, a summary of the colloquy may be found in the *Mém. de Condé*, ii. 490, and a very detailed account in the conclusion of the VIth, and commencement of the VIIth Books of *La Place*, *Commentaires de l'Etat de la Religion*.

‡ Garnier, xv. 176.

former, who did not arrive in sufficient time for the opening of the conference, was a Florentine by birth,* and before his conversion from Romanism, had obtained more than one considerable preferment by his great learning and his celebrity as a preacher. On adopting the new doctrine, and settling on a professorship at Strasburg, he imitated the conduct of Luther by marrying a nun.† During the reign of Edward VI. he visited England at the especial request of the Protector Somerset and of Archbishop Cranmer, and was appointed first to the divinity professorship at Oxford, and afterward to a canonry of Christ Church. From the persecution of the ensuing reign he was permitted to retire unharmed; and after some years of wandering in Germany, he received an invitation to Zurich as its chief pastor. Beza, a native of Vezelai, in Burgundy, was of noble parentage by both descents. He was educated in the principles of the Reformation, and made a rapid progress in elegant literature; to the cultivation of which pursuit and to the pleasures of the capital, many of his early years were devoted. A dangerous illness awakened in him more serious feelings, and he determined that, if he were permitted to recover, he would embrace the ministry. With that design, he retired first to Lausanne and afterward to Geneva; in which latter city he especially attached himself to Calvin, and in return was admitted into his entire confidence and became his official colleague. An intimate acquaintance which he formed with the

* His family name was Vermiglio; his parents christened him Martyr, from a church in their neighbourhood, dedicated to St. Peter the martyr.

† This lady, Catherine Cahie, died during Peter Martyr's residence at Oxford, and was buried in Christ Church Cathedral, near the shrine of St. Frideswyde. Under the reign of Mary "her carcass was cast out from ecclesiastical sepulture," by order of Cardinal Pole, and buried in a dunghill near the dean's stable. Its re-interment took place after the accession of Elizabeth, when Dr. Calfhill, at that time subdean of Christ Church, placed in the same coffin with it the reliques of St. Frideswyde. He also published a tract, *Hist. de Exhumatione Katherinæ nuper uxoris Petri Martyris*, 1562.

Bourbon princes, during a residence at Nerac, in the court of the King of Navarre, had made him well known to the leading Huguenots; and whether we regard his piety, his learning, his eloquence, his ready presence of mind, his many personal accomplishments, his elegance of manners, or his accurate acquaintance with mankind, no more powerful advocate of their cause could have been selected.

A knowledge of the public transactions during this conference is, as on other similar occasions, readily accessible; but it is not often that we are so closely admitted to the privacy of the great actors in history, as we find ourselves in a minute account of a preliminary familiar conversation in the palace, given by Beza in a letter to Calvin, and repeated in the history of the French Reformed Churches. He arrived at St. Germain en Laye, where he was received with great marks of esteem,* on the 23d of August; preached on the following morning, in the saloon of the Prince of Condé, before a large and distinguished congregation, who heard him “without any tumult or scandal;” and in the evening was invited to the apartments of the King of Navarre, where were assembled the queen mother, the Prince of Condé, the cardinals of Bourbon† and Lorraine,

* Those who are acquainted with Calvin only through fearful and repulsive portions of his doctrine, may be surprised at the playfulness with which he answered Beza's account of his reception at the French court. Those who have ever suffered under the gout may deem the following passages very creditable to his good temper. *Hodie literas tuas accepi, die scilicet nostro, uberrimas et peraquè suaves. Unde cognosces in dolore articulari adhuc me deliciis vacare. Non semper tantum otii fuit; toto enim biduo passus sum acerrimos cruciatus in pede dextro. Caput morbus mitigari nudius tertius; sed non ita remissit quin pedem teneat devinctum. Atque ut scias me nihil fingere, odor olei mihi propè est amabilis, quamvis sæpe nauseam citet. Ita non est cur aulicis tuis lautitiis invideam, benè et pinguius unctus. Crede mihi jocando non ita me oblecto ut tibi abstergere cupio omnem molestiam, ne si forte rumor obscurus ad te aliundè perveniat, anxietatem aliquam concipias. Video enim nisi te mirabiliter sustineat Deus non esse tibi vigorem decimæ parti ferendæ. Tu post dimidiam noctem mihi respondes. Ego ex lecto post horam septimam dum commodè licet; ita providi sunt senes podagrici. Nonis Octobris MDLXI. Opera, viii.*

† Brother of the King of Navarre and of the Prince of Condé.

the Duke d'Estampes,* and Madame de Crussol.† Having made his reverences to the queen, Beza shortly explained to her the occasion of his coming; and the deep anxiety felt both by his brethren and himself to serve God and her majesty, in an enterprise so holy and so necessary as that which was in contemplation. The queen listened graciously, expressed in return the consolation which she should derive from any attempt promising repose to the distracted kingdom, and then asked some particulars respecting Calvin's age and habits of life. The Cardinal of Lorraine here joined in the conversation, stating that he was already acquainted with Beza through his writings, and exhorting him to peace and unity. "You have," he said, "troubled this realm in your absence, let your presence be a signal for its pacification." Beza in reply declared, that after the service of his God, that of his king and country was most dear to him; that he had always in every way been far too unimportant to have the power of troubling so great a realm as France, and that on the other hand his inclination strongly prompted him to render her good offices; in testimony whereof, he appealed to his past writings, and to the demonstrations which, by God's help, he trusted to make in the approaching conference. The queen then inquired if he had ever written any work in French, to which he answered in the affirmative, naming his translation of the Psalms, and a reply to the late Duke of Northumberland's confession of faith.‡ Catherine, as he tells us, asked that ques-

* Jean de Brosse of Britany, for whom, upon his marriage with Anne de Pisseleu, a mistress of Francis I., Estampes was erected into a duchy; Henry II. deprived him of that fief, and bestowed it upon his own mistress, Diana of Poitiers, but it was restored by Charles IX.

† Louise de Clermont-Tallard, wife of Antoine de Crussol, created Duke of Uzez in 1562.

‡ The Duke of Northumberland, on his execution for the conspiracy in favour of Lady Jane Grey, in 1553, made a profession of Romanism on the scaffold.

tion, because she had heard that he was the author of certain libellous verses which had been circulated through France; an authorship which he most solemnly and earnestly denied.

The cardinal next remarked that he had at that moment lying on his table at Poissy, a Latin tract on the eucharist, attributed to Beza, in which occurred a strange passage; namely, that "we ought now to look for Jesus Christ in the eucharist, even as we looked for Him before He was born of the Virgin." "Again," said the cardinal, "I hear that you have written in another book, which I have not seen, *Christus est in Cænâ sicut in cæno.*" The queen and her company seemed greatly shocked at this latter statement, but Beza answered on the first point, that doubtless the words might appear strange, put nakedly as they had been cited by the cardinal; that they ought to be considered together with the context; and that, moreover, the proposition which they contained was strictly true, when rightly understood. Respecting the second head, the words were so absurd and blasphemous, that he boldly pledged himself they did not exist either in his own writings, or in those of any other person who professed the Reformed doctrines.* The cardinal abandoning the second charge, pursued the first at considerable length. The sum of his argument was, that if the proposition were admitted, Christians possessed no advantage over those who lived previously to the advent; and, moreover, that the body of Christ could not be offered to any man, before it had been called into existence. Beza gently asked whether the church had not existed from the very beginning of the world? Whether it had not always derived its nature as a church from a Mediator be-

* Notwithstanding Beza's total rejection of these words from a Reformed origin, they had really been employed, although very innocently, by the gentle Melancthon, in a controversy with Ecolampadius, from one of whose positions Melancthon affirmed they must be a necessary deduction. De Thou, xxviii. 7.

tween God and man? and whether Jesus Christ, true God and true man, was not that Mediator? "Then," continued he, on receiving affirmative replies to each of these questions, "the communication of the faithful with Jesus Christ must not be restricted to the period which has elapsed since His divinity became really and actually conjoined with our nature; for although beforehand He was not sensibly present, yet He was always present, virtually and effectually, to the eye of faith. How else, indeed, could Abraham 'rejoice to see His day and be glad'* or how could our fathers 'all eat the same spiritual meat, and all drink the same spiritual drink, which was Christ?'"† The cardinal agreed; adding readily and appropriately from the Apocalypse, that Christ was also "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world;"‡ but when Beza was proceeding in fuller exposition of the difference between the old and new covenant, he interrupted him on another point,—“This is my body:”—“how,” said he, “are we to understand these words, which are most important, and on which we disagree?” “We do so,” answered Beza; “and deeply as I must regret that so little harmony reigns among us who call ourselves Christians, I had far rather hear an avowal of disagreement, than a futile attempt to cheat us into belief that we accord on points wherein our difference is so marked.”

“Well,” said the cardinal, “I teach the little children in my diocese, when they are asked what is the bread in the Lord’s Supper, to answer, that it is the body of Jesus Christ. Do you object to that?” “Far from it,” rejoined Beza, “they are the very words of our Lord; but the gist of the question lies in knowing after what manner the bread is called the body of Christ; for every thing that is of similar kind is not so in precisely similar manner.” They then discussed the Scriptural phraseology relating

* John viii. 56. † 1 Cor. x. 3, 4. ‡ Rev. xiii. 8.

to the sacrament, upon which the cardinal did not much rely in his own favour; except that when Beza cited "that rock was Christ," in proof of figurative applications, he met the text by a literal one, "the word was made flesh:" but this objection, we are told, very speedily "slipped through his fingers."* In the end, Beza said the matter might be reduced to four heads; the first concerning the signs; the second, the things signified; the third, the union of the signs with the things signified; the fourth, our participation of the things signified together with the signs. "As to the first," he added, "we do not agree; for you do not include in the elements any other signs than certain accidents of the bread and wine, whereof we retain the substance in conformity with the nature of a sacrament and with all Scripture." "No, no," interrupted the cardinal, "I am not afraid of being unable to maintain transubstantiation well enough; but it is not necessary that our divines should advance that tenet too forward; and for my part, I do not think our churches ought to be at variance on that account." "On the second head," continued Beza, "we do not maintain that it is only the merit of the death and passion of Jesus Christ which is signified to us by the bread and wine, but that it is His true body which was crucified, and His true blood which was shed for us; in a word, that Jesus Christ himself, very God and very man, is signified to us by these visible signs, in order that our hearts may be exalted to contemplate Him spiritually through faith, in the Heavens wherein He now abides; and to communicate with His treasures laid up there in eternal life, as truly and certainly as in the course of nature, we see, handle, eat, and drink, the outward and visible signs."

At hearing this declaration the cardinal expressed great satisfaction, for he had been informed, he said,

* *Eschappe tantost entre les mains. Hist. des Egl. Ref. i. 495.*

that the Reformed doctrine was widely different. "On the other hand," continued Beza, "we confess that there is a great difference between ordinary bread and wine and that of the eucharist; for ordinary bread and wine are no other than common existences, such as God has been pleased to form them; but in the eucharist they become visible signs and tokens of the precious body and blood of our Lord. But we affirm that the change by which these natural creatures become sacraments, is not in their substance, which remains entire, but only in that their signs are applied to a use altogether differing from their natural import. For naturally they are destined only for our bodily nourishment; but when made sacraments they represent our spiritual food. Moreover, we by no means attribute this change to the virtue of certain words pronounced over them, nor to the intention of him who pronounces them, but to the power of God, whose will and commandment is testified to us by His word. Thus, then, since the thing signified is offered and given to us by the Lord as truly as are the outward signs, it is in this manner, and not otherwise, that we ought to regard their union; namely, that the body and blood of Christ, which are truly administered to us, are also truly present in the elements; not that they are *under*, nor *with*, nor *within* the bread and wine, nor in any other place whatsoever, except in Heaven, to which Jesus Christ has ascended, in order that He may dwell there, according to His human nature,* till He comes again to judge both the quick and the dead."

The cardinal here, after renewing his assurance that he was not inclined to press transubstantiation, said that undoubtedly we must look for Christ in Heaven; and he then introduced something about absolute local presence and the opinions of certain

* *Selon sa nature humaine*. Beza's meaning is not very clear in these words.

Germans ; alluding, no doubt, to the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation. "But to speak the truth," adds Beza, "this part of his discourse was in such sort as to show that he did not well understand the point ; and, indeed, he himself admitted that he had employed most of his time in other matters."—"I must confess, Monsieur," answered Beza, "that we do not agree with those Germans whom you mention on this third head ; but thanks be to God ! we jointly with them affirm a true communion with the body and blood of our Lord."

"Do you then admit," inquired the cardinal, "that we really and substantially communicate with the true body and blood of Christ in the eucharist ?"—"That," answered Beza, "is the fourth head which remains to be touched upon. In brief, we say that we sensibly handle, eat, and drink, the visible signs ; and that as for the things signified, to wit, the body and blood of Christ, they are truly and without any subterfuge offered to all partakers, but that they can be received no otherwise than spiritually by faith ; not by the hand nor by the mouth. Yet, notwithstanding, we believe that this spiritual communion is no less certain than the certainty that we see with our eyes and handle with our hands the outward signs ; albeit, the efficacy of the Holy Spirit and of faith is incomprehensible both by our senses and by our understanding." At these words the cardinal strongly declared to the queen his great satisfaction at the opinions which he had heard, and his confidence that the issue of the future discussions would be most happy if they were proceeded in with similar gentleness and reason. When the queen and her company had retired, he turned to Beza with a gracious and winning air,* and took his leave, saying, "I am delighted to have seen and heard you ; and I call upon you in God's name to confer with me, in order that we may mutually acquaint ourselves with

* *Caressant.*

each other's reasonings, and you will find that I am not so black as I have been painted."*

In this trying interview, Beza exhibited great tact and knowledge of the world, as well as a ready acquaintance with controversy. Without receding one step from the position which he was bound in conscience to maintain, he so expressed himself as not only to avoid offending his opponent, but even fairly and honestly to conciliate his good will. The measure of the cardinal's sincerity, on the other hand, may be estimated by one little incident. As he was withdrawing, Madame de Crussol took him by the hand, and said, with her customary freedom, "You have shown yourself a good man this evening, but what will you be to-morrow?"† The lady's doubt was prophetic; for the rumours of the court on the next morning were loud that Beza in the very outset had been attacked, confounded, abashed, and converted by the cardinal. Nevertheless, when Montmorency congratulated the queen while at dinner on this success, Catherine pointedly and openly replied, that she had been present at the whole conversation, and that he was very ill informed as to its result.‡

The Reformed ministers continued to preach in the palace daily, and without interruption, till the morning on which the disputation was appointed to

* Brantome has amusingly described the mutual esteem which he supposes to have been engendered between the Cardinal of Lorraine and Beza, *ce grand personnage*, as he names him. After stating that on account of the splendid display made by the Cardinal at the Council of Trent, in his *harangues, discours, disputes, responses, et arguties*, he was supposed to possess a familiar spirit, he says that in consequence of a private interview with Beza, (most probably the conversation related above,) *L'un et l'autre ne se pouvoient exalter assez, comme deux beaux chevaux qui s'entregrattent l'un l'autre, et non pas comme deux asnes, disoit-on alors; car ils estoient hors de ce pair et de ce rang, pour estre par trop remplis de science.*—*Discours*, lxxviii. tom. vi. p. 277.

† *Domina Cursolia, quasi præsagiens quid crastino accideret, prehensâ Cardinâlis manu ita illum apertè (nôsti mulieris ingenium) palam accepit, "Hodie" inquit, "vir bonus, cras vero quid?"*—Letter to Calvin, *Opera*, viii. 156.

‡ Letter to Calvin, *Opera*, viii. 156. *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 492—497.

commence. It had been stipulated by the Calvinists, and verbally agreed, to by Catherine,* that since the bishops were parties in the dispute, they were not to be judges also; that the king, the royal family, and the great officers of state should be present; that the only standard of reference should be the canonical Scriptures; and that the proceedings should be noted down by secretaries chosen on each side, and daily attested by the signatures of the disputants. The faculty of Paris, meantime, had protested against any discussion with heretics who denied the authority of bishops and prelates; and urged, that if they must be heard, at all events the hearing should not take place in the royal presence; such a course, it was said, would but little contribute to edification, and might awaken perilous doubts in the bosom of the youthful king. Catherine dryly answered, that the mode of discussion was already arranged, and the divines quitted the palace in grievous discontent.

At noon, on the 9th of September, the court assembled in the refectory of a convent at Poissy. On the right of the king sate his brother, the Duke of Orleans and the King of Navarre; on his left, the queen mother and the Queen of Navarre; behind them were ranged a great number of princes and princesses, lords, knights, and gentlemen with their ladies. On each side of the chamber were seated three cardinals;† below them thirty-six archbishops and bishops; and behind, a vast company of ecclesiastics, doctors, and deputies of the clergy. At the end of the hall and fronting the throne stood the royal guard, and a host of spectators of all classes. Silence having been proclaimed, the king opened the sitting in a few words, and commanded the chancellor to explain more at length the objects of

* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 499.

† De Tournon, De Lorraine, De Chastillon,—D'Armignac, De Bourbon, De Guise.

the conference. L'Hôpital, in the speech which he delivered accordingly, took occasion to commend a national synod as better adapted to existing circumstances than a general council; and perhaps on that account the Cardinal de Tournon demanded a written copy of the speech; but his motion, after some slight discussion, was overruled. The Reformed ministers, assisted by the deputies from the provincial churches, were then introduced by the Duke of Guise, and Beza, who had been chosen their spokesman, immediately commenced his address.

He began with a short prayer appropriate to the circumstances in which he was placed; then, having congratulated himself upon the attainment of a privilege hitherto denied to those of his religious profession, namely, that of standing before his sovereign and pleading in his presence, he endeavoured to remove the prejudices which false reports and evil calumnies had created against the Reformed. "Think not," he said, "that we have come hither in the hope of propagating error; our object is rather to discover and to amend whatever may be faulty, either on your side or on our own. Esteem us not so bigoted as to entertain a desire to overthrow that which we know to be eternal, the church of God. Believe not that we would willingly reduce you to our own condition of lowliness and poverty; in which, nevertheless, thanks be to the Lord! we are not without singular contentment. We approach you with a sincere wish to repair the breaches in our Jerusalem; to re-edify our spiritual temple; to restore the house of God, built up of lively stones, to its former glory; to collect and gather again, within the unity of a single fold, the flock of the one and sovereign shepherd; that flock which has been so widely scattered abroad by the just vengeance of Heaven and the perverse carelessness of men."

Passing on to a review of the doctrines of his

brethren, he touched rapidly on the main points of difference from the ancient religion; not impugning the principles maintained by others, so much as defending those asserted by himself. The one and plenary atonement of Christ; His single intercession and advocacy; the nature of good works, namely, that they proceed entirely from the Holy Spirit, are good only in so far as they are agreeable to the commandments of God, and by no means entitle us to that eternal life which is wholly His free gift; the canon of Scripture, as alone containing all that is necessary for salvation; the sacraments, as outward signs of inward grace;—all these points were affirmed; and the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as distinguished both from transubstantiation and consubstantiation, was pointedly enunciated. "Should any one ask whether we assert that Jesus Christ is absent from the eucharist, we unhesitatingly reply, no. But if we look to the distinction of places,—as we must do when the question of corporal presence is advanced—then we pronounce that His body is as remote from the bread and wine as the highest Heaven is from the surface of the earth."

Hitherto the orator had been listened to with mute and profound attention; but as the last words were delivered, a hasty murmur ran along the benches, and numerous indignant voices exclaimed, "he has spoken blasphemy." Some of the ecclesiastics rose to quit the assembly, and the Cardinal de Tournon besought the king and queen either to silence Beza, or to dissolve the sitting.* The king

* For the satisfaction of Catherine, Beza addressed to her, on the following day, a letter explanatory of the words which had excited so great a movement. It is printed in the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 522. In a letter to the Bishop of Rennes, before cited, Catherine herself gives the following account of this incident. *Beza continua longuement sa remontrance en assez doux termes, se soumettant souventefois, si l'on montrait par la Sainte Ecriture qu'ils errassent en aucune chose, de se réduire et laisser vaincre à la Verité. Mais estant enfin tombé sur le fait de la Cene, il s'oublia en une comparaison si absurde et tant offensive des oreilles de l'assistance, que pue s'en fallut que je ne luy imposasse silence, et que je ne les renvoyasse tous, sans les laisser passer plus avant. Mais*

contented himself with commanding order, and Beza proceeded without farther interruption "We are on earth," he said, "the body of Christ is in Heaven: yet if any one should thence conclude that we assert Jesus Christ to be absent from this Holy Supper, we maintain his conclusion to be false. For we so far honour God, that believing the body of Christ to be in Heaven, and no where else, and knowing ourselves to be on earth, and no where else, still we affirm that spiritually and through faith; we are partakers of Christ's body and blood; even as certainly as we behold the sacrament with our eyes, touch it with our hands, place it within our lips, and feed bodily on its substance."

On baptism, he said, little difference existed between the two churches. The five other *sacraments*, as they were called by the Romanists, were admitted by the Reformed, in degree and as useful *ceremonies*. In church discipline so great was the confusion which prevailed, that the most skilful architect would find it difficult to recognise one vestige of the apostolic building, either in ordinances or in morals. Before God, he protested, that the sole design of the Reformed, was to approach, if possible, to primitive beauty and purity; to abolish superstitions; to retrench superfluities; to adopt any new ordinances which upon solemn consideration might be deemed agreeable to Scripture, and suitable to change of times and circumstances. He concluded by professions of obedience to the king, and of reliance upon the wisdom of his counsellors; and then bending on his knees, he presented the

voyant qu'il estoit sur la fin de sadite remonstrance, et considerant que comme ils ont accoutumé de s'avantager en toutes choses pour la confirmation et persuasion de leur doctrine, ils eussent plustost fait leur profit de tel commandement que recû correction et amendement; et davantage tel qui l'avoit oui en ses raisons s'en fut allé imbû et persuadé de sa doctrine, sans ouïr ce qui luy sera respondu: Làdessus je me contins, bien offensée toutefois de son propos, ainsi que vous pourrez juger par ce que luy et ses compagnons m'en depuis baillé par escrit, que je vous envoie. Mém. de Castelnau. Additions par Le Laboureur, i. 733.

confession of faith of the Reformed Churches of France, which the king received graciously and handed to the prelates. The Cardinal of Tournon immediately, with marks of anger and disturbance,* entreated the king not to believe one syllable which had been uttered, but to abide firmly in the religion professed by his ancestors since the reign of Clovis, and in which he had been educated by his royal mother. He then demanded time, in order that an answer might be prepared; confidently trusting that when his majesty heard that reply, he would be brought back—not brought back, he said, correcting himself, but preserved in the path of orthodoxy. The king answered briefly, that, in the course he had hitherto adopted, he had been guided by the advice of his council; he then retired, and the assembly rose.

When the Romanist divines met after this first day's conference, to deliberate on their future proceedings, the Cardinal of Lorraine began by remarking that, if he could have had his will, either Beza should have been dumb, or his audience deaf. It was resolved that the cardinal himself should reply, but only to the two points of church discipline and the eucharist; that a confession of faith opposed to that of the ministers should be framed and presented for their signature; and that if they declined its acceptance, their heresy should be solemnly condemned and the conference dissolved. The ministers, apprized of these intentions, presented a remonstrance; which, by the chancellor's mediation, was so favourably received, that the cardinal determined on an entire change of tactics; and while he prepared his answer, he despatched an express to the Governor of Metz, enjoining him to send up to Poissy, as secretly as possible, three or four of the most sagacious, clear-sighted and firmly-principled Lutheran divines. By arraying the tenets

* *Indignatione tumens, voce præ irâ tremulâ.* De Thou xxviii. 10.

of the confession of Augsburg against the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper, he trusted to perplex and divide the Reformers; and thus, to use his own expression, to escape like St. Paul between the Pharisees and Sadducees.

The conference assembled on the 16th of September, in the same manner as before, when the cardinal delivered his reply. He first argued that on all matters connected with ecclesiastical doctrine and discipline the church possessed absolute sovereignty, so that princes were but her sons and members; thus more than covertly disapproving and rebuking the arrangement by which the king had been appointed to preside. He then addressed himself with great learning and a most profuse display of authorities, to the two points which it had been determined should alone be treated; and it is remarkable that, in discussing the real presence, he again produced the miserable play of words on *Cæna* and *Cænum*, which Beza in the first conversation had disavowed; and which the cardinal now protested he would not render into French, out of consideration for the weaker brethren. Before addressing himself to the king in his peroration, he made a spirited apostrophe to the Reformed, which very dexterously preluded the farther design he was meditating.—“If,” he said, “in this most unjust and causeless quarrel, we have become so odious to you that you separate from us altogether; that you think us unworthy to live and to dwell in your society; that—horrible to say—you shrink from prayer and sacrifice to God, if performed in the same temples with us, why should you refuse to accept the Greek communion as an arbiter? And if you abhor the universal church, why will you not abide by the decision of one which is particular? Why not appeal to Separatists like yourselves, and turn to the confession of Augsburg? The ministers who profess that creed, one and all will condemn you.

But if you are rejected on the doctrine of the sacrament, even by dissentients from the Catholic Church, who agree with you in almost every thing else, what hope can we have that you will ever accord with us who differ from you, not only on that question, but on most other points also? If, therefore, you are thus besotted by self-complacency, and reduced to solitude in your opinions; if you will not approach our faith, absent yourselves also from our flocks. Leave to us the charge of those over whom you do not possess any authority, and whom you endeavour to seduce from their attachment to those legitimate pastors who derive their commission from God himself."

When the cardinal had finished his harangue, the prelates rose in a mass, and would have retired, saying, that after a display so eloquent, so argumentative, and so convincing, it was not possible there could be any more room for dispute.* Beza, however, seized the moment with admirable promptness, and when he began, the members resumed their seats. Addressing the king, he offered either to reply on the instant, or to await any other day which his majesty might appoint as more seasonable, when, according to the previous stipulation, each party might adduce its authorities. The king expressed his assent to the latter proposal.

More than a week, however, was allowed to pass before a re-assembling of the divines took place; and the arrival of the Papal legate during that interval produced an essential change in the form of the conference. Pius IV. recollecting the opposition which former legates to France, in much less tempestuous seasons, had encountered in the exercise of their functions, evinced considerable sagacity in his choice of a minister. Ippolito d'Este,† Cardinal

* Beza in his letter to Calvin writes handsomely of the cardinal's speech; *Splendida illa nostri Purpurati Oratio.*

† Son of the infamous Lucrezia Borgia by marriage with her fourth husband, Alfonso I. Duke of Ferrara.

of Ferrara, and brother of the reigning prince of that duchy, was closely allied, not only to the Guises, but even to the royal house of France;* he possessed benefices within that kingdom exceeding sixty thousand crowns in annual value, and he was moreover a personage of pleasing and accomplished manners, and an acute and skilful diplomatist. Yet, notwithstanding his illustrious birth, his intimate connexion with France, and his accommodating personal qualities, he was insulted in his passage through Lyons; and on his arrival at St. Germain the populace followed him with rude shouts—"The fox, the fox!"—till they compelled him to abandon the customary legatine privilege of being preceded by an apparitor bearing a crucifix. Even in higher places also, he had little cause to be satisfied with his reception. The Chancellor de L'Hôpital refused to affix the seals to his *faculty* as legate, notwithstanding a promise that the instrument should never be employed. When, after long denial, at the express command of the king, he *did* seal that paper, it was endorsed with a special protest under his own hand, "*me non consentiente*;" and, after all, when it was presented to the parliament, that body replied that they neither could nor would admit its registry. But "the fox," says Beza, in despite of these provocations, never showed any symptoms of anger, and by preserving unruffled calmness he ultimately triumphed. When the conference was reopened, on the 24th of September, neither the king nor his brother was present. The happy children were released from their former painful task of moderating in polemical divinity, not from any commiseration for their tender years, as unfitted for that grave purpose, but in order to deprive the

* The Princess Renée of France, daughter of Louis XII. was consort of the Duke of Ferrara, brother to the cardinal. A daughter, the issue of that marriage, and therefore niece to the cardinal, was Duchess of Guise.

disputation of much of the publicity which it had hitherto enjoyed. The queen mother, the Queen of Navarre, the princes of the blood, the cardinals, and a scanty committee of ecclesiastics, were now the only persons confronted with the Reformed ministers; and the place of assembly was transferred from the spacious refectory to the smaller chamber of the prior. Books there were in plenty, with a show of fulfilling a promise made by the Cardinal of Lorraine, that he would confirm his doctrine of the sacrament by appeal to every father of the church who had written in the first five centuries; but, numerous as were the volumes produced, not one page of them was ever opened.*

Beza recommenced by arguing at great length in favour of the validity of the Calvinistic Church. It was, undoubtedly, his weakest point; and he resorted, perhaps, to over-subtle distinctions when he maintained—first, that the succession from the apostles, which he called *doctrinal*, was a surer mark of the true church than *personal* succession; and, secondly, that besides ordinary vocation to the ministry, another ought also to be admitted, which is extraordinary. Upon the purity of *doctrinal* succession, it is quite manifest that every sect will pronounce a verdict favourable to itself; and no enthusiast, however boldly he has leaped into the fold, has ever been backward in asserting his especial call to God's service. On the fallibility of particular churches and of councils, he was far more successful; and the paramount authority of Scripture over the traditions and the canons of the church, was pointedly stated and proved. "To ask whether of the two is superior, Scripture or the church, appears to be not less impertinent, than to ask if the child be above the parent, the wife above the husband, and man above his God. Grant that the church in one sense existed before the Scripture:

* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 556.

yet, nevertheless, paradoxical as it may appear, the Scripture, in truth, is the most ancient, for by it the church itself was engendered, conceived, and born." Having apologized for the great extent at which he had treated matters relative to church discipline, (his speech had already occupied an hour and a half)* he offered to continue, if the queen so pleased, on the remaining head, the Lord's Supper. But the Cardinal of Lorraine made a sign to one of the most learned Romanist doctors, Claude Despence, who began a reply.†

Despence readily admitted the paramount authority of Scripture over the church; but he strongly objected to the legality of the ministry of Beza and his companions, owing to the want of imposition of hands; and he farther argued that even those who might have been previously ordained by the Church of Rome, had forfeited their privilege by apostacy. Then, proceeding to the authority of traditions, he affirmed that certain doctrines had no other foundation; as that of the co-essentiality of the Son, and, so far as its name was concerned, the trinity itself. In regard to councils, he taxed Beza with an incorrect application of a passage in Tertullian, and of having advanced an historial fact on the authority of a writer so justly suspected as Socrates. Before Beza could explain, "a little white friar,"‡ named De Xaintes, uprose, and with great vehemence of speech, drew a parallel between Beza and the Anabaptists; expressed astonishment at his having ventured to cite Chrysostom, a writer who he said had stated the existence of Scripture to be contrary to the intention of God; recommended him before he

* *Disservi ad sesquihoram*, Letter to Calvin, *ut sup.*

† Beza names him to Calvin not very respectfully, with an allusion which we are unable to explain. *Orationem meam excepit conductitius ille Balaam qui tibi aliquando ducatum obtulit ut chartam et pennas tibi comparares. Ut sup.*

‡ *Un petit Moine blanc*, as he is called in the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* or, more opprobriously in the letter to Calvin, *infacetissimus cucullio*.

again quoted the fathers to read them three or four times over ; and added to the doctrines which rested solely on tradition, infant baptism, and the perpetual virginity of Mary. When he had ceased, Beza, first calmly remonstrating on the irregularity of this interruption, and the confusion which it was likely to produce, addressed himself to the objection of Despence concerning the imposition of hands, maintaining that such a form was by no means essential : "For our part," he said, "we feel no interest in the matter. We have good testimony of our call in our examination and election by an elder, in the approval of our magistrates and people, and in reception into the ministry by solemn prayers and thanksgiving. And if you assert that the first builders of our church edified it without authority, as not being included in the apostolical succession, I reply that many of them might have claimed that succession if they had so chosen ; but in truth they preferred a voluntary renunciation of that mark of the Romish Church ; not thereby despising ecclesiastical order and discipline, but because in your church, a prey to confusion and distraction, neither order nor discipline was to be found. Briefly, instead of amusing ourselves by a reference to this ceremony in support of our claims to true pastorate, let us come at once to substantial matters, and inquire concerning doctrine. Is that which we preach pure ? Are our differences from your church just ? If these things be so, then are we true ministers, despite the want of imposition of hands ; a want not arising from our fault, but from those who have overthrown that ecclesiastical polity which we are striving to restore." All this argument we need not observe is founded on a *petitio principii*.

He then denied that the doctrines of the trinity, of the co-essentiality of the Son, and of infant baptism, rested on tradition only. Each was fairly deducible from Scripture ; and as for the assertion of

Mary's perpetual virginity, it was not an article of faith. Next adverting to the admonition of De Xaintes that he should read the fathers three or four times over before he quoted them, he assured him in return that he had read his citation from Chrysostom more than twenty times; and moreover that he would pledge himself that neither De Xaintes nor any one else had ever read in that father the blasphemous sentiment which his opponent had incorrectly attributed to him. To the charges of a mistaken application of Tertullian and of reliance upon the authority of Socrates, he answered not a word at the moment; and he afterward justified his silence, when his companions inquired privately concerning it, by stating that his reply was directed to principal matters, and not to accessories; an excuse by no means likely to disarm his opponents, even if it satisfied his friends.*

Some warm skirmishing ensued with De Xaintes, who appears to have been ignorant, presumptuous, hot-headed, and obstinate. The Cardinal of Lorraine perceived the danger arising from his incompetence, and interrupted a merciless display which Beza was exhibiting of the monk's ignorance and impudence, by an abrupt proposition upon which he relied for certain victory. In his hope of producing embarrassment by means of the Lutheran divines, he had altogether failed. One of them died immediately after his arrival at Paris, and his four brethren quarrelled among themselves, proved intractable, and returned to Germany without visiting Poissy.†

* From a passage in Tertullian, *De Præscriptionibus adversus Hæreticos*, (probably that in cap. xxv. beginning, *Sed, ut diximus, eadem dementia est*) Beza proved that father to believe that the apostles had not omitted to write any thing necessary for salvation. The fact for which he cited Socrates, was the opposition of Paphnutius, at the Council of Nice, to the proposed celibacy of the clergy. He maintained afterward to his friends that Socrates deserved a better character than was usually attributed to him; and also that the account of Paphnutius rested on farther evidence, namely, a Greek MS. report of the acts of the Council of Nice.

† *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 615. Garnier, xv. 190.

Accident, however, had thrown in the cardinal's way two productions of the Reformers, from parts of which he hoped to derive great advantage; and he accordingly made another sign to Despençe, who recalled Beza's attention to the doctrine of the sacrament, and then expressed his conviction that he would not refuse assent to a declaration concerning it, made by one of his most eminent brethren. At the same time he read two passages from a volume which he produced, without avowing the name of their author. In one of them occurred the word *substantialiter*, in the other a statement that the presence of the Lord's body was not to be denied, provided we abstracted all consideration of a local presence. Mutilated as were these sentences, Beza at once recognised them as the production of Calvin,* and expressed his full concurrence in them when joined to their context. The cardinal himself then drew from his bosom a second document, which he affirmed to be a confession of faith, signed by thirty or forty German ministers, all of them, as he believed, acquaintances of Calvin. From that instrument he said he would extract but one article of three or four lines for Beza's signature, which by God's grace he trusted would be a sure preliminary to accommodation.†

Beza demanded a copy of the proposed test, promising his answer on the morrow. When it was delivered to him he found it to be part of a confes-

* In a tract which is a remarkable specimen of foul-mouthed Latin. *Dilucida explicatio sanæ Doctrinæ de verâ participatione Carnis et Sanguinis Christi in Sacra Cænâ. Ad discutendas Heshusii nebulas.*—*Opera*, ix. 723.

† Anquetil, who, however little he regards the *letter*, usually catches the *spirit* of history, has clearly explained the cardinal's intention in this manœuvre, by an imaginary question and reply. *C'est cette declaration que le Cardinal de Lorraine vouloit arracher à Beza, pour ôter à son parti la ressource des Luthériens. Un jour après avoir bien disputé, le Cardinal finit par cette question. "Comme les Luthériens d'Allemagne, admettez-vous la Consubstantiation?" "Et vous," repliqua Beza, "comme eux rejetez-vous la Transubstantiation?"—L'Esprit de la Ligue, tom. i. liv. i. p. 120.*

sion of certain ministers in the duchy of Wirtemberg, drawn up two years before; in which, although this single passage might appear to support the Romish doctrines, there were other articles expressly condemning transubstantiation, the adoration of the host, and all similar belief and practice. It was on that account that the cardinal rested content with one short and garbled extract; and in so doing his design was plain. If the ministers delayed their signature, he would make their reluctance a plea for breaking up the conference, and for throwing the blame of the rupture upon their tardiness; if they refused signature altogether, he hoped to embroil them with the Lutherans; or finally, if they did sign, it would be easy to claim a triumph, to represent them to their own congregations as traitors and renegades, and to create a schism among the Reformed.

With whatever secrecy the cardinal's projects were conceived, Beza appears to have been well-informed of their tendency. When the conference reassembled on the next day but one after its last meeting, he placed in the queen's hands a memorial signed by all the ministers. It protested against the inquiry which had been made into the legality of their ordination, and the attempt upon that account to cast odium upon their church. It then pointed out numerous deviations from the original apostolic constitution in the present mode of Episcopal consecration in the Romish Church, adding boldly, "*if we are not ministers because we have not received imposition of hands, you are not bishops because you have omitted numerous formalities required by the divine law.*" Then passing on to the Cardinal of Lorraine's demand of their signature to an isolated article of faith, shorn of many principal and essential accompaniments, it complained of the proposal, "sign that, or we terminate the conference," as a menace which would not have been offered even to

prisoners upon their trial. Still Beza did not hesitate to avow his approbation of the passage which had been read to him from the tract by Calvin. For the article selected from the confession, he wished to know whether it was presented in the single name of the cardinal, or in that of all the prelates also? Whether if the Reformed ministers consented to sign it, the cardinal would sign it jointly with them? and also, whether he was prepared to redeem his promise of supporting his assertions concerning the eucharist, by authorities from the Holy Scriptures and the fathers?

The cardinal at first showed symptoms of surprise and annoyance at these unexpected interrogatories; but quickly recovering himself, and having apologized for undertaking to reply at the moment to a premeditated and written remonstrance, he taxed Beza with an intention to degrade both royal and sacerdotal authority, by denying the validity of Romish ordination; and with utter ignorance of the nature of Episcopal consecration, proved by the manner in which he had described it. In return, Beza stigmatized the form of consecration as a farce; and the cardinal, passing over that strong expression, reverted to the proposed signature. He was asked again whether it was his own individual proposition, or arising generally from the clergy? and whether he and they would sign the confession? "For myself," answered the cardinal, "*I am Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri*, I have therefore neither subscribed to that confession nor to yours; ready as I am to subscribe to both, provided they contain truth. On the other point, my brethren here present can testify that I have neither spoken nor offered any thing to you without their general concurrence." At that word he cast his eyes from side to side, but received no sign either of assent or dissent.* "Since then," was

* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 588.

Beza's answer, "you yourself will not subscribe, it is unreasonable to ask our subscription."

The debate on the eucharist was immediately renewed, and Peter Martyr, who then appeared for the first time, entered the lists with Despençe. As a compliment to the queen he delivered himself in Italian, and handled his argument so learnedly and so eloquently as to extort praise even from his antagonist.* A violent declamation was then pronounced by Jaques Lainez, the Spanish general of the Jesuits in the suite of the legate, who attacked the Reformed in intemperate and unmeasured terms; and in his conclusion, urged the queen to the suppression of heresy with many sighs and tears, which excited undisguised laughter.† To his abuse, Beza replied that he would assent to every thing of which fair proof was laid before him; but that until then he would no more believe that his brethren and himself were monkeys, vipers, and foxes, as his opponent had called them, than he would believe in transubstantiation.‡ Little novelty arose in the subsequent discussion. "What is it you understand by *Hoc* in the words *Hoc est corpus meum*?" inquired a doctor of the Sorbonne.§ "The bread," replied the minis-

* *At noster Martyr tum primum loqui exorsus Italico sermone ut a Regina intelligi posset, rem totam ab ovo usque explicavit et vel invitos ad rem ipsam descendere coegit.*—Letter to Calvin, 159. In the *Hist. des Eglises Ref.* i. 599, it is said that Martyr delivered himself in Italian because he could not speak French; and that the Cardinal of Lorraine interrupted him after awhile, saying that he would have nothing to do with any body who did not speak his own language. It is plain, from these contradictions, that at least the account of the colloquy at Poissy in that history was not written by Beza. According to Brantome, Peter Martyr's compliment to Catherine was altogether unnecessary, *elle disoit et parloit fort bon Francois encore qu'elle fust Italienne.*—*Discours*, ii. tom. ii. p. 294.

† *Jesuita allocutus est Reginam, horâ fermè integrâ, sed ita ineptè, ita stultè ut nemo posset risum continere, quum ille histrio inter cætera in extremo Fabulæ actu lacrymaretur.*—Letter to Calvin.

‡ Letter to Calvin.

§ *Qui primo loco me docuit quid esset pronomen, quæ propositio identica*—*Ibid.* The *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* reports an untranslatable pleasantry to which this part of the dispute gave birth. When the ministers came out of the convent, they were eagerly asked how

ters, "which Christ then held in His hands, and which He called His body, because it was the outward and visible sign or sacrament of His body." "The very body itself," exclaimed the doctor; "*Hoc*, by grammatical construction, cannot have any other signification;" and when Beza resisted that meaning, one of his adversaries, lifting up his finger, shook it in a threatening manner, and called out, "Ah! if we could but once get you into our school!"*

The asperity of tone which marked this third conference seemed to preclude all hope of mutual accommodation from another similar assembly, and Catherine proposed that five deputies selected from each party should meet at a private house at St. Germain; not any longer to dispute, but to endeavour to arrange a declaration concerning the eucharist which both sides might accept. On the part of the Romanists were chosen for this service Montluc, Bishop of Valence, Duval, Bishop of Seès, Despence, Salignac, and Bouthillier; on that of the Reformed, Beza, Peter Martyr, Marlorat, Des Gallards, and De L'Espine. The Romanists in the first instance proposed the following article: "We believe that together with the signs or appearances of bread and wine, the true body and blood of Christ is really and substantially present, exhibited to, and received by faithful communicants." This form was afterward modified into the words below. "We believe that *in the usage of the Lord's Supper* the true body and blood of Christ, *truly and in very deed*, and substantively, *that is in very substance, exists in a spiritual and unspeakable manner*, is exhibited to, and received by faithful communicants."† Ultimately, it assumed another and more extended shape. "We confess

matters were going on; and one of them answered, "*que la Messe estoit bien malade, et qu'ils l'avoient laissée aux hocquets*; (in hickups, in extremities) *entendans par ce mot de hocquets les mots de hoc est corpus meum*, &c.—i. 589.

* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 603.

† *Id.* i. 604.

that Jesus Christ in His Holy Supper, truly presents, gives, and exhibits to us the substance of His body and blood by the operation of His Holy Spirit; and that we receive and eat sacramentally, spiritually, and through faith that very body which died for us, that we may be bone of His bone and flesh of His flesh, to the end that we may be vivified by it, and perceive through it all things necessary for our salvation. And since faith established on the word of God, renders present to us things which are promised, and since through that faith we receive truly and indeed the true and natural body and blood of our Lord by virtue of the Holy Spirit; in that manner we confess the presence of the body and blood of the same our Lord in the Holy Supper.”*

The news of the acceptance of this declaration by the joint deputies was received with great joy by the court. The queen mother sent for Beza to her apartment, where, in the presence of the Bishop of Valence, she testified unbounded satisfaction; and when the Cardinal of Lorraine read a copy of the paper, he affirmed that it contained what had always been his belief, and that he trusted it would content the divines at Poissy. “That he uttered these words,” says the historian emphatically, “is quite certain; perhaps,” he adds, “he thought that he spoke truth, for such kind of people never have leisure to think whether they believe or not, nor indeed to think at all on that which they think they believe.”† But the happy event which the cardinal had anticipated was very far from occurring. The faculty of divines, after close examination, pronounced the
Oct. 9.
declaration not only insufficient, but also

captious, heretical, and containing many errors against the Holy Sacrament. Despençe was struck mute at this decision; and the Cardinal of Lorraine felt obliged to admit that the doctors were more

* *Id.* i. 608.† *Id. ibid.*

clear-sighted than himself, and that he yielded to their judgment.* So terminated this unsatisfactory disputation.

CHAPTER VI.

Tumult at St. Medard—Edict of January—Difficulty in procuring its Registration—The King of Navarre abandons the Huguenots—Beza's Disputation concerning Images—The King of Navarre avows his apostacy—Massacre at Vassy—Remonstrance of the Huguenots—The Duke of Guise enters Paris—Condé retires to Meaux—His rapid occupation of Orleans—Huguenot Association and Manifesto.

THE Reformed ministers perceived that their occupation as disputants was now at an end, and they took their leave and retired. When Beza, however, paid his respects to Catherine, with the intention of returning to Geneva, she claimed him as a Frenchman, and entreated that he would not abandon his native country while the slightest opening seemed to remain even for a mitigation of religious hostility. His consent was the more readily obtained by the willingness which the queen at the same time expressed, not to oppose any obstacle against the performance of the Reformed worship in Paris; which was celebrated accordingly, wholly without disguise, by large congregations. On the morning after Christmas day, Beza himself, escorted publicly by D'Andelot and a very powerful retinue, to the great astonishment of the Catholics, delivered two sermons. On

Dec. 27. the following morning he preached again, and after dinner† was reluctantly persuaded

* In the *Hist. des Egl. Reformées*, i. 609, &c, are printed at length the *Judgment* in which the theologians pointed out three heresies, one fallacy, and one insufficiency in this declaration; a *confession* of the Catholic belief in the real presence, stated in the broadest terms of transubstantiation; a *Reformation* of the Calvinistic confession; and the *conclusion* of the prelates assembled at Poissy on all the foregoing documents.

† That is, on Dec. 27, the feast of St. John the Evangelist. Beza's words are distinct. *Natali ipso quærimus. Postridie copia nobis tum*

to attend in a meeting-house called the *Patriarchate*, in the Fauxbourg St. Marcel, where a discourse was to be given by Malot, a minister of some distinction. Rumours of an intended disturbance, it seems, had been conveyed to Beza, and his apprehensions were unfortunately verified. More than twelve hundred persons were assembled; but scarcely had the preacher commenced, when his voice was drowned by the clang of bells from the neighbouring church of St. Medard, as if chiming for vespers; and on one of the Huguenot congregation, without communicating his intention to his brethren, going out and requesting the priests to forbear their interruption, high words arose, and in the quarrel which ensued he was severely beaten and at length killed. As the noise still continued, others proceeded to the church, and horror-struck at finding the dead body of their comrade, gave an alarm, excited by which, great part of the congregation rushed tumultuously to the

primum facta publicè diebus festis concionandi. Altero post die, a prandio itum est ad Marcelli suburbium. Letter to Calvin. *Calvini Opera*, viii. p. 164. In the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* occurs an inaccuracy respecting this date, furnishing strong internal evidence against the authorship of that work being rightly attributed to Beza. The tumult at St. Medard is said to have happened on *le 26 de Decembre estant lors le jour de la feste de Saint Estienne*, (i. 761.) 26 might easily be an error of the press for 27; but in that case the feast of St. Stephen, which really belongs to the 26th, would not have been particularized. In a succeeding paragraph, the author of the history sets himself right at the expense of an inconsistency; *le lendemain qui fut un Dimanche vingthuitiesme du dit mois de Decembre* (672.) From a narrative given in the *Mémoires de Condé*, (i. 864.) we learn that the 27th was a Saturday. *Histoire veritable de la mutinerie, tumulte et sedition faite par les Prestres de Saint Medard contre les Fideles*, le Samedi, xxvii. jour de Decembre MDLXI. This last-cited tract must be received with caution, since it is manifestly a party statement. Another paper in the same volume (p. 878,) although plainly written by a Huguenot, bears about it greater marks of truth. *Reponse aux Remonstrances faites contre les Placards attachez le dixhuitiesme de ce mois d'Avril, 1562, en ce qu'elles touchent le fait et sedition de Saint Medard.* Nicolas des Gallards, a Genevese minister, and one of the twelve disputants at the conference of Poissy, has been supposed to be the real author of the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.*, and to have been very largely assisted by Beza. See Ancillon, *Mélanges de Critique et de Literature*, Art. 28. Some inaccuracies in which account are corrected by Le Long *Bibliothèque de la France*, i. 381.

spot. They were headed by one Gabaston,* the captain of a body of sixty archers recently instituted as a city police, some of whom were instructed to be always present as a safeguard to the Huguenots during their assemblies. The priests, alarmed by the furious onset of this crowd, naturally irritated by the murder of their friend, barred the church-gates, and retreated to the bell-tower, whence they rained a shower of missiles, and sounded the tocsin. Meantime, Beza endeavoured to calm the terrors of that part of the congregation, chiefly women and children, which still remained in the meeting-house; and in order to divert their attention, Malot, with great self-possession, gave out the XVIth Psalm, which they sang lustily. The Huguenots were armed, and being joined, it is said, by many of the licentious rabble ever abounding in great cities and eager to foment disturbance in the hope of pillage,† they beat in the doors of the church, grievously wounded many of the Catholics, and committed numerous indecent outrages. The ornaments of the altar were destroyed; reliques and consecrated wafers were strewed on the pavement and trampled under foot; and many images were torn from their shrines and shattered in pieces.‡ The police meantime secured the most violent among the Catholics, whom they considered to be the aggressors; bound with ropes thirty-six persons; all of whom were wounded, and at least ten of which number were

* De Thou, xxviii. 30, states this somewhat differently, and makes Gabaston, *afterward*, during the progress of the affray, ride into the church on horseback. We prefer the narrative of Beza, who was an eye-witness.

† *Inde, raptâ occasione, perditæ vitæ homines qui in populosâ urbe nimis quam multi et ex gladiatoria ferè viventes, licentiæ potius quam pictatis causâ se turbæ immiscuerant . . . expugnandum Templum susceperunt.* De Thou, *ibid.* This addition of the rabble is not mentioned by Beza.

‡ De Thou, *ibid.* says the images were thrown down by the priests themselves, who, being unarmed, employed them as defensive weapons. Beza, however, contradicts him in both points. *Qui hostibus armatis percerant, Idolis et panaceo illi Deo parcere non potuerunt, frustra reclamantibus quibus ista non placebant.*

priests ; and conveyed them to prison through the streets without opposition. Malot continued his sermon, after which the Huguenots dispersed quietly, but on the following evening the populace fired and destroyed their meeting-house. A commission appointed to inquire into this tumult proceeded throughout with marked injustice and partiality ; they released the prisoners, and adjudged to capital punishment Gabaston, captain of the watch, and three of his associates, who were stated to have increased rather than to have extinguished the riot by assisting the Huguenots. The gibbet on which these unhappy men were condemned to suffer was erected in front of the church of St. Medard ; but so excited was the fury of the rabble that they tore the dying victims from the hands of the executioners, dragged them with savage howlings and great cruelty through the streets, and, when satiated with their blood, threw their bodies into the Seine. The capital echoed night and day with songs made in commemoration of this barbarous triumph.

In the hope of calming the excitement resulting from this unfortunate collision, Catherine assembled a council of deputies from the several parliaments of the kingdom ; and with their consent revoked the Edict of July, and constructed another which, named like the former from its date, is known as ^{1562.} the *Edict of January*. Its opening provisions ^{Jan. 17.} implied a great increase of power among the Huguenots ; for they were instructed to restore to the established religion, all churches, houses, property, revenues, reliquaries, and ornaments of which they might have obtained possession ; not to trouble the priests in their collection of *dismes* and other ecclesiastical dues ; not to deface nor destroy crosses or images, an offence which was declared punishable by death without hope of pardon or remission. It then enacted that other churches were not to be occupied by the Reformed in lieu of those which

they surrendered; they were restrained from building any meeting-houses either within or without the precincts of towns; and, within such precincts, from holding any assembly for worship, public or private, by day or by night. Nevertheless, provisionally, and till the final determination of a general council, all the penalties inflicted by the Edict of July were suspended, in so far as regarded religious meetings of unarmed persons, held by day, and *without* the precincts of towns. They were, however, to be under the inspection of proper officers, by whose permission synods and consistories might be held in like manner. The collection of alms was permitted, but all levies of men or money for offensive or defensive purposes were rigidly prohibited. Conformity with the church was required in desisting from labour on holydays and festivals, and in not marrying within the forbidden degrees of affinity. Ministers were to present themselves before the magistrates within a given time, and to swear that they would obey this ordinance; that they would not preach any doctrine opposed to the Nicene creed or the canonical Scriptures; that they would abstain in their sermons from any invectives against the mass, or other rites of the Catholic Church; and that they would not wander as itinerant preachers from village to village, against the consent of the respective seigneurs, landholders, curates, vicars, and church officers. The priests were in like manner enjoined to avoid all injuries and evil speaking against the ministers and their followers, as contrary to true devotion, and as the most fertile sources of disorder and tumult.*

From the reluctance with which this edict was at first received by many of the Huguenots, it would appear that they had already forgotten how lately they were an utterly proscribed and abhorred sect, hunted

* The edict is printed at length in the *Mém. de Condé*, iii. 8, and in the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 674.

down, and delivered to the flames whenever the blood-hounds of persecution could track their secret haunts. They now, indeed, were said to count no less than two thousand one hundred and forty congregations, dispersed through every part of the kingdom; and so great were their numbers at Paris, that between thirty and forty thousand persons sometimes assembled on the same spot for service;* which was generally performed either at the *Patriarchate*, already mentioned, in the Fauxbourg St. Marcel, or at the *Popincourt*, without the gate St. Antoine. No secrecy was affected in the celebration of their rites; and the marriage of two favourites of the Queen of Navarre, the young Rohan and La Brabancon, a niece of Madame d'Estampes, had been publicly solemnized at Argenteuil, close to St. Germain, the ceremony being performed by Beza, in the presence of the queen herself, of the Prince of Condé, and of the admiral.† But although the spirit of the new ordinance was comparatively tolerant, the liberty which the Huguenots had enjoyed for the last few months, and the manifest indifference of Catherine in her profession of the ancient religion, had encouraged among them hopes of positive establishment, which they were ill prepared to surrender. The leading ministers, however, addressed to their congregations a pastoral letter, enjoining the scriptural duty of submission to authority; showing the advantages derived from this, their first public recognition as a body under the royal protection; and pointing to the favourable prospect which the graciousness of the king held out for the future, notwithstanding certain restrictions which, for the present, were undoubtedly grievous. The commentary on the several articles of the edict which followed this epistle, was distinguished by gentleness, good sense, and piety. The justice of some of the demands was

* Pasquier, *lettres*, tom. i. liv. iv. p. 196. † *Id.* p. 200,

stated to be so apparent, as not to require any argument in its support. The restoration, for instance, of property belonging to the priests, or to their churches, was an obvious duty, and he who disregarded it would deserve to be cut off from religious communion. To deface images was not the province of ministers, whose exertions ought rather to be directed against the idolatry of the heart, by preaching the pure word of God. Harsh as the denial of public service within towns might appear, it by no means interfered with the domestic worship of separate families; and as for the prohibition from carrying arms, the Christian warfare demanded only spiritual weapons, namely, prayer and patience, against the enemies of truth.*

The rigid Catholics, on the other hand, perceived in the immunities granted to their opponents, nothing short of the destruction of their own ascendancy, and the probable downfall of their church; and it was not until they were terrified by the presence of an armed force, and even by military execution, that some of the provincial parliaments consented to register an edict which they denounced as anti-christian. The parliament of Dijon, backed by the influence of the Duke of Aumâle, brother of the Duke of Guise and Governor of Burgundy, obstinately and successfully persisted in its opposition; and the struggle maintained by a body whom it was far more important to control, the parliament of Paris, appeared to threaten a perilous breach between the sovereign and his people. "M. le president," was the reply which the young king had been instructed to deliver to Christopher de Thou, when he presented a remonstrance,—“you will tell my parliament, that I have ordered the remonstrance they have addressed to me to be read in my council, and that whenever they send me remonstrances on matters appertaining to the good of my service,

* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 683

they shall be graciously received. But you will not forget to tell them at the same time, that my will and pleasure is, that my edict shall be promulgated on Monday next, without further delay ; and that I forbid them any further hesitation, since I choose to be obeyed as completely as any of my predecessors. I intend also that they shall obey the queen, my mother, even as myself ; I shall make as much account of obedience to her as if it were offered to my own person ; I shall in like manner regard disobedience to her as disobedience to myself ; and I shall bear it in constant mind when I attain my majority.”* Notwithstanding this spirited reply, the parliament on receiving it agreed to pass a vote that they neither could nor ought in conscience to proceed in the registration ; and it was not until Catherine had worked upon their fears by declaring that numerous bodies of armed men, levied and commanded by she knew not whom, were on their route to Paris, that she appeared to shake their resolution. Following up this stratagem, she contrived that during one of their sittings, some of the king’s gentlemen should interrupt the debate, by announcing that four or five hundred persons, armed at all points, thronged the palace courts, and threatened to tear the president and his counsellors in pieces, unless they registered the edict. A stormy discussion succeeded this preconcerted scene ; and the president at length decided that, “in consequence of urgent necessity, and by the express command of the king,” the edict should be registered and published, protesting at the same time, against any supposed approbation of the new religion, and declaring the step which they had taken to be altogether provisional.†

* Garnier, xv. 242.

† *Id. ibid.* 249. Pasquier again exhibits his sagacity when speaking of the promulgation of this edict ; *vray qu’il n’a pas esté si tost publié que des sa naissance il est mort ; estant, si ainsi voulez ; je le die, un vray avorton de la France, mais qui par sa mort produira plusieurs tranchées dans les entrailles de celle qui l’a produit.*—*Lettres*, tom. i. liv. iv. p. 220

The intrigue by which this opposition had been generated and maintained was not long without development. Since his arrival in France, the Cardinal of Ferrara had so far temporized as to excite suspicion in the Vatican that he was not fulfilling his legatine duties with sincerity; but as his projects were deeply laid, so were they slow in advance to maturity; and it was only from a long course of dissimulation that he could hope for ultimate success. In examining the state of parties in France, his sagacity did not fail to perceive that the Catholics were still undoubtedly the strongest; and he doubted not that if the weight in their scale could be sensibly augmented, Catherine would be forced either to withdraw the opposition which she had lately maintained, or, as was more probable, to unite herself with the manifestly preponderating faction. It was to be considered, therefore, through which of their leaders the Huguenots were most vulnerable. The Prince of Condé and the Châtillons were too firm and too upright to permit a hope of seducing them from the religion which they had adopted on conviction; but the King of Navarre, weak, unstable, and voluptuous, might be supposed to have embraced the cause of a sect whose habits were directly opposite to his own, chiefly with a hope of personal aggrandizement; and of so far alarming Spain by the establishment of great influence in France, as to compel her to the restitution of his kingdom. Every art, therefore, which could occur to the fertile and politic invention of a practised Italian diplomatist, was employed in order to wean that prince from his patronage of the Reformed. Two of the most confidential officers of his household, Descars, his chamberlain, and the Bishop of Auxerre, chief of his council, were readily persuaded to lend their assistance in reconciling him to their own church; and they were instructed to whisper suspicions and to excite jealousy of the

Colignys, respect for whom was believed to be one of his strongest ties to the Reformed. Having thus weakened the outworks by his agents, the cardinal himself directed the main attack; and began by hinting that the Pope's consent might be obtained to the repudiation of his heretic consort Jeanne d'Albret; and to his union with the widowed queen of Scotland, whose hand would confer not only the sceptre of that kingdom, but most probably that of England also.* Antony, although not less unfaithful to the marriage bed than our own Charles II., like him also had sufficient sense of shame to reject the atrocious proposition of wronging an exemplary consort. The cardinal, however, was by no means disconcerted; he next pointed to the high esteem in which Pius IV. was held by the court of Spain; and to the facility with which his good offices might be procured in order to obtain either the restoration of Navarre itself, or, if that were not feasible, an equivalent indemnity. The fickle and too credulous prince listened with open ears to the wily proposal, and negotiations were accordingly soon in progress. The Pope despatched a Nuncio to Madrid; the King of Spain consented to appoint a commission of review, but at the same time, notified to the *Duke of Vendôme*, the only title under which he recognized the pretender to Navarre, that, as a preliminary, he must feel assured that he was not treating with a heretic; and that no testimony of attachment could be so grateful as the dismissal of the Reformed preachers.

While this secret negotiation was pending, the dispute occurred concerning the registry of the Edict of January: and the King of Navarre, although not yet prepared for the entire revelation of his future intentions, secretly prompted the opposition and contributed greatly to its prolonged maintenance. Beza was probably one of the first persons

* Mezeray, v. 50

who detected symptoms of his apostacy;* and he wrote cautiously, although strongly, to Calvin, expressing his indignation. After speaking of some ludicrous occurrences during a conference which we shall presently mention, he adds that, besides that comedy, a tragedy also was being enacted; in which the principal character was maintained by one, who least of any ought to have assumed it; and whom, he should hereafter always call Julian. "As for him," he continues, "there is great need of the display of God's just judgments; and never has there been witnessed a similar instance of vacillation, treachery, and wickedness. In an audience which he gave me in his bed-chamber, he was not ashamed to treat me as if I had been ignorant of matters with which every child is acquainted; and from that moment he has taken no pains to dissemble his enmity against me; but has openly shown it, and exhibited himself as a madman under the manifest influence of the Evil Spirit. But God in His mercy has so deprived him of all sense that even in his madness he is little to be feared."†

The dispute in which Beza was now engaged concerned images; a point suggested by Catherine, either with a hope of contributing to union, or in order to amuse and deceive the Reformed ministers. The council chamber at St. Germain was selected as the arena on which a deputation of theologians

* He seems to have entertained doubts of the King of Navarre's sincerity on their first meeting at St. Germain before the opening of the Colloquy at Poissy. *Quod ad Navarrum, summa orationis mee ad illum fuit* "vereri me ut adventus iste meus illi tam gratus brevi futurus sit." *Quod ubi illum subridentem animadverti*, "Atqui," inquam, "quod per jocum ita accipis seriò tibi a me dictum puta." Letter to Calvin. *Calvini Opera*, viii. 154. His fears were completely confirmed when he wrote again on the 1st of February, *Miser ille jam prorsus est perditus, et omnia secum perdere constituit. Uzorem amandat. Possidonium* (the Admiral Coligny) *cui omnia debet vix sustinet intueri*. 165. A letter from Beza to the Queen of Navarre, on the apostacy of her husband, dated May 13, 1561, is printed in the *Mém. de Condé*, 359. It is marked by a most gentle, charitable, affectionate, and truly Christian spirit.

† *Calvini Opera*, viii. 166. This letter is dated February 26.

from both churches was to contend ; and Catherine, the King and Queen of Navarre, the Cardinal Legate of Ferrara, the Cardinals of Bourbon, Châtillon, and Tournon, the privy counsellors, and some of the presidents and counsellors who had assisted in constructing the Edict of January, assembled to witness the disputation. Beza spoke on the first day for two hours ; and the controversy appears to have been conducted with some playfulness and good humour. Thus, when one of the Sorbonnists maintained that in the time of St. Denys, whom he affirmed to be a disciple of St. Paul,* images were employed in Paris, and cited the painted windows in the church of St. Benoit,† in proof of his assertion, Beza drew down peals of laughter by a jest of no very extraordinary pungency, “that the argument was fragile as glass.”‡ The ministers repeatedly urged the prohibition of images in Scripture ; to which the general of the Jesuits answered that all things we ought to do are not enjoined by Scripture ; first, “because if they were so, the Bible would be too unwieldy a volume ; and secondly, because if the code defined every minute action, no change could possibly at any time be admitted. But the Romanists were far from agreeing among themselves. Despençe, Boutillier, Picherel and Salignac, altogether abandoned the defence of representations

* It is a matter of controversy whether the patron saint of France is Dionysius, the Areopagite, or Denys, Bishop of Paris, *circiter* A. D. 250. Innocent III. wisely allowed the church to believe in either at pleasure. A tract by De Launoi, *De duobus Dionysiis*, may be consulted by those who are curious on this question.

† It was believed that the three Parisian churches of Nôtre Dâme, des Champs, St. Etienne, and St. Benoit, were founded by St. Denys, the bishop. But Felibien summarily dismisses this notion. *C'est un sentiment qui n'est ni prouvé ni probable, puisque personne n'a pas allégué jusqu'ici aucun témoignage pour autoriser l'ancienneté prétendue de ces trois Eglises.*—*Hist. de Paris*, 128.

‡ *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 693. The name of this Sorbonnist was De Mouche, or Demochares, as Beza Latinizes it ; and he is described in the letter to Calvin, 166, as *Asinus omnium quadrupedum, Mallardo excepto, infacetissimus*. Mallard, who thus excelled him, was dean of the Sorbonne.

of the Trinity, and of any one of the three persons of the Godhead; and Beza has most graphically described the distress of the unhappy Cardinal de Tournon, when he perceived the tendency of their speeches. The president, he says, as Salignac went on, first groaned inwardly, then grumbled openly, next rose from his chair and walked to the fire-place, and at last fairly buried himself out of sight in the farthest corner of the room.* Montluc supported the same opinions "magnificently," founding his arguments on Scripture and on the fathers, and maintaining his position by correct and powerful reasoning. He complained also of a personal grievance inflicted upon himself by the Sorbonne. It seems that the faculty, without due respect to his Episcopal character, had condemned a book written by him for the use of his clergy in the diocese of Valence, and containing sound and Christian doctrine; while at the same moment it had authorized a very stupid and silly rhyming volume, by one Arthus Desiré,† which, among other evil matters, had thus falsified the II^d commandment in doggerel:

"Thou shalt make a graven image,
At thy choice of every kind,
Honour it and pay it homage,
God in *that* great joy shall find."‡

The Bishop of Valence, and the four doctors who agreed with him, then drew up a paper, founded on

* Letter to Calvin, *ut sup.* 165.

† *Un certain Prestre rimailleur, des plus impertinens hommes du monde*, as he is called on another occasion in the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 730. He narrowly escaped the gallows not long afterward, for undertaking a treasonable mission to the King of Spain. The nature of his style may be estimated from the following title of one of his publications: *La Singerie des Huguenots, marmots et guenons de la nouvelle derision Théodobeziennne, contenant leur arrêt et sentence par jugement de Raison Naturelle.* Paris, 1574. It is preceded by one hundred and fifty Alexandrine dedicatory verses, addressed to Charles IX.

‡ *Tailler tu te feras image
De quelque chose que ce soit;
Si honneur luy fais et hommage
Ton Dieu grand plaisir en recoit.*

The above lines are slightly altered from the Genevan version of the commandments.

the above admissions ; and expressing their willingness to consent to the removal of all sculptures and paintings of the Trinity, as prohibited by Scripture, by councils, and by many personages of sound wisdom and saintly life. They condemned also the unseemly and licentious carved work which often profaned ecclesiastical buildings, and the representations of the legends of those saints, both male and female, whom the church rejected as apocryphal. They were content to abolish the adoration, salutation, osculation, investment, and coronation of images ; the offering of vows to them, and the processions in which they were carried about, whether through the streets or in churches. The other divines admitted that there might be a few abuses which demanded reform, but stoutly supported the necessity of retaining images altogether.

Beza in consequence presented a long written address to the queen, in which his main argument was founded upon the II^d commandment, unlawfully retrenched from the decalogue by the Church of Rome, as he proved on the authority of the fathers. He protested against any misinterpretation, which might represent him as condemning painting and sculpture in general. They were innocent and even necessary arts, when not employed in opposition to religion and conscience ; but the danger of their ministering to idolatry had been discovered not only in the time of the writers of the Old Testament, and in the first three centuries of the church, but also by the wisest legislators and moralists of Paganism. Witness Numa and the Lacedemonians among the former ; Varro, Horace, and Persius among the latter. He then critically examined the word idol, which some had wished to restrict to images of the heathen gods ; and he proved by reference to Euripides, Homer, and Virgil, (if in agitating sacred themes he might be permitted to name such profane poets) that εἰδωλον, εἰκών, ὁμοίωμα, *imago* and *simula-*

crum, were altogether synonymous. These philological niceties, he continued, are little, however, to the purpose. God's prohibition of idolatry is universal; and if images be worshipped, whether by Pagans or by Christians, they are worshipped alike in direct violation of the Divine Law. It is idle to urge that the prohibition delivered in the Old Testament relates solely to the Jews, and, as a part of their ceremonial law, is abolished together with the rest of it; those who argue thus should be prepared at the same time to prove that idolatry was a sinful tendency peculiar to the Hebrew nation; whereas, in point of fact, it is a vice which besets human nature itself. In a word, the commandment was delivered for all men and for all seasons, and St. Augustin has well said that so far as it is concerned, *we* are now the Jews. The cherubim on the ark of the covenant have been cited as an exception, and they are so. But they were fashioned after an express injunction from God; and can the Church of Rome produce any similar injunction for any of its images? moreover, the ark of the covenant was deposited in the sanctuary, remote from the general eye, and therefore not exposed to the abuse of adoration. No worship was paid by the Jews either to the sanctuary or to the altar, any more than to the fire which blazed, or to the victim which burned on the latter; and the Romanist who affirms otherwise may be accused on similar grounds, and by borrowing his own argument, of worshipping the pig of St. Antony, the horse of St. Martin, and the devil of St. Michael, with no less fervent devotion than that which he offers to the images of those saints themselves.

In reply to the customary argument that honour is not directed to the image but to that which the image represents, Beza triumphantly inquired (and the inquiry has never yet been answered) why then is any local superiority admitted? why is one image

considered more holy and more potent than another? why are pilgrimages made to distant images, when there are others, perhaps of far better workmanship, near at hand? Again, is it tolerable that in a Christian Church an image of the Virgin Mary should be addressed in terms appropriate solely to the Almighty Father, "*omnibus es omnia!*" If the Virgin were yet alive and on earth, how would the humility and lowliness of heart, which she ever so conspicuously evinced, be shocked by the hourly impious appeals to her supposed maternal authority over her blessed son; "*Roga Patrem, jube Natum!*" "*Jure Matris impera!*" Then, adverting to the reputed miracles performed by images, he contended that by the evidence of judicial inquiries, most of them had been indisputably proved impostures; and even with regard to such as remained undetected, it was detracting honour from God, the sole author of miracles, to attribute any hidden virtue or mystic efficacy to wood or stone. Passing on to a review of the long controversy about images maintained in the Greek Church, he concluded by affirming that not less idolatry might be occasioned by crucifixes than by images themselves; and the only part of this memorial, distinguished as it is by acuteness of argument and soundness of learning, in which we perceive any approach to special pleading, is a somewhat too subtle distinction which it attempts to establish between the sign of the cross and a material crucifix. The propositions appended to this document were that images should be altogether abolished; or if that measure were thought too sweeping, that the king would consent to the removal of all representations of the Trinity or its separate personages; of all images which were indecorous, as for the most part were those of the Virgin; of such as were profane, as those of beasts and many others, produced by the fantastic humours of artists; of all publicly exhibited in the streets, or so placed

at altars that they might receive superstitious veneration; that no offerings or pilgrimages should be made to them; and finally, that crucifixes also should be removed, so that the only representation of the passion of our Lord might be that lively portrait engraved on our hearts by the word of Holy Scripture.*

If the suggestions of Montluc and his party, so accordant with the propositions of Beza, had been admitted by the general body of the Gallican Church, this conference seemed to promise a nearer approach to union than any of its predecessors; and it must be admitted that the concessions to which the moderate Romanists inclined were sufficiently ample. But the opinions of those inveterately hostile to all reform ultimately prevailed, and the only result of the discussion, says Beza, (without perceiving, or at least without adverting to the fact, that he is giving an account applicable to almost every synod, conference, and council in which religious differences have been agitated,) was that each party abided by its own opinion. The general of the Jesuits indeed was importunate with the ministers for a promise that they would attend the council of Trent; and so troublesomely pressing was he, that he pursued them even to their beds with assurances that the Pope would not have his own way in that assembly.† Thus harassed, they represented to Catherine their chief difficulties, and the means by which they might be removed. First, their unwillingness to acknowledge the authority of the Pope to summon a council at all; which objection they would compromise by attending at the command of the king: secondly, the probable absence of representatives from other countries professing their own religion; which barrier the queen herself might assist in overcoming by

* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 696. 716.

† *Le General des Jesuites prenoit bien la hardiesse de venir chercher les Ministres jusques à leurs lits, pour les induire à y entendre; les assurant que le Pape n'y feroit pas ce qu'il voudroit.—Id.* i. 716.

expressing a wish to her Protestant allies that they would send deputies. The stipulations which they made were that, in remembrance of the fate of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, and indeed of their own recent personal experience—although no men were more willing than themselves to encounter danger whenever the glory of God might so require it—the council should not be held in any place mediately or immediately dependent on the Romish see, or on any prince uniting ecclesiastical with temporal authority; that in their safeguards a clause should be inserted expressly opposed to the dictum of the council of Constance, that faith was not to be kept with heretics; that at the council they should have full parity of rights with all the other deputies; that in all questions discussed the canonical Scriptures should be the sole standards of reference; and that such passages only of the fathers might be cited as were founded on Scripture; that the ministers should be represented by a plurality of their own voices; and that during the sitting of the council all religious disputes should be suspended in France by the strict observance on both sides of the Edict of January.

It does not appear in what manner Catherine received this memorial. Her thoughts indeed must have been too wholly engrossed by the danger which threatened her own power from the increasing ascendancy of the Triumvirate, to permit of her paying much real attention to the ministers now avowedly deprived of the protection of the King of Navarre. On the last day of the conference, that prince who had long sought an opportunity of declaring himself, and thus of gratifying the Spanish court, affirmed that the ministers, after all their repeated vaunts, had failed in discomfiting the Catholic theologians; and he denounced them therefore as charlatans and impostors, with whom he held it disgraceful to maintain farther intercourse. He also

immediately removed his son from the Reformed governors to whose care he had hitherto been committed for education, and surrounded him with others of the Romish persuasion. His queen was sensibly affected by this unexpected act of violence. Passionately embracing her child, at that time in his ninth year, she entreated him to abide in the faith in which he had been originally trained, and mingling threats with caresses, she menaced him with disinheritance if he became a renegade.* When Catherine recommended patience and a seeming conformity to her husband's will, she indignantly replied, that rather than attend mass, if she had her kingdom in one hand and her son in the other, she would throw both into the bottom of the sea.† On the opposite part, the Spanish minister, the Duke d'Alva, gratefully acknowledged this homage offered to the Catholic religion; and while he declined entertaining any proposal for the restitution of Navarre, now an integral part of the Spanish dominions, he offered a compensation, to be tendered by the free grace of his master. Sardinia, which he represented as a second Paradise, might be guaranteed to Antony; and if the possession of that happy and productive island were not considered sufficient, the confederated arms of Spain, of France, of the Pope, and of the knights of Malta, might conquer for him the kingdom of Tunis, and extend his territories almost without limit in Africa. For the present, if he sought to accelerate the fulfilment of these splendid hopes, he could not more substantially advance his interests than by procuring the removal of the Châtillons from the French court.

Coligny and his brothers, warned of the approaching demand, which was to be supported by the Spanish envoy personally, and perceiving moreover the inability of Catherine to resist, prudently saved

* Garnier, xv. 256.

† La Popeliniere, liv. vii. tom. i. p. 285.

the queen from mortification and themselves from affront, by a voluntary retirement. The return of the Duke of Guise to Paris, from which he had been absent during the whole winter, gave additional cause of just alarm to the Huguenots; and the commencement of the civil war which ensued, is usually dated from a bloody incident which occurred during his journey. In his route, the duke's passage lay through Vassy, a town on the borders of Champagne, in which a Huguenot Church had been established during the preceding year. The rapid increase of this congregation, on a spot scarcely three leagues removed from the principal domain of the Guises at Joinville, had given especial offence to the duke's mother, Antoinette de Bourbon, a bigoted Romanist; and, urged by her persuasions, Guise had attempted some months before, first to terrify, and afterward to convert these insolent heretics, who were represented as bearding him even in his own principality. But the Reformed were too numerous to be intimidated, too well instructed to be seduced; and the *gens d'armes* retired after an idle demonstration, the ecclesiastics after being forsaken by many of their followers who attended the minister's preaching and embraced his doctrine.* With these causes of previous irritation, the Duke of Guise entered Vassy, accompanied by the Cardinal of Lorraine and a numerous suite, on Sunday the first of March 1. March; not so much perhaps with a design of suppressing the Huguenots by force, as with a hope that the authority of his presence might contribute to their dispersion.† As he approached the

* Yet the minister does not appear in a very favourable light in a *Discours entier de la Persecution et cruauté exercée en la Ville de Vasssy.—Mém. de Condé*, iii. 124. In a long conversation between him and the Bishop of Chalons, the speeches of the former are, for the most part, distinguished by rude, blustering, coarse, vulgar, and sectarian violence.

† *Eâ mente ut præsentia sua potius conventicula illa dissiparet quam ut aliquam privatam injuriam inferret.*—De Thou, xxix. 10. De Thou, therefore, believed that the Duke of Guise intended some interference.

town, on hearing the chime of bells at an unusual hour,* he inquired its meaning, and was answered that it was a summons to the Huguenot worship. At that announcement, a deep, although indistinct murmur ran through his train, in which, as was usual with men of high rank, was mingled a disproportionate number of pages and lacqueys, ever prompt to violence and greedy of plunder. While the duke halted in the principal street, where he was joined by a reinforcement of sixty horse, which had been assembled in the town eight days before, many idle stragglers from his suite wandered off to the meeting-house; some indignant at the open display of heresy, some wishing for a quarrel in which they might be gainers by pillage, and others attracted solely by curiosity. The more mischievous among them began to insult the assembled congregation, (about twelve hundred persons of both sexes and all ages,) with rude taunts and mockery; repeatedly calling them dogs, and rebels to their king and God,† although they were gathered together unarmed and strictly in conformity with the Edict of January. The Huguenots were provoked to retort, till evil words were succeeded by a shower of stones; and

* *Audito tintinnabuli pulsu horâ insolitâ petiit a prætereuntibus equid pulsura illa insolens sibi vellet.* De Thou, *ut sup.* In the *Discours* noticed above, it is said that the duke set out from Dammartus, in which town he had slept, *après qu'il eust ouy Messe du grand matin.* Castelnau also states, *il alla disner à Vassy.*—*Mém.* iii. 7. These minute coincidences, although on a trifling matter, are not unimportant in estimating the value of different authorities on a much controverted subject; and Brantome, upon whom, as we shall see presently, Dr. Lingard places rather a hasty reliance, is altogether at variance with the above writers. The following is his version: *Ce fut ainsi qu'il voulut ouyr la Messe et que son Prestre la commençoit, les Huguenots qui estoient là auprès assemblez, vinrent précisément et quasi à poste, commencer à chanter leurs Pseaumes. Monsieur de Guise qui n'avoit jamais ouy telle note, les envoya prier d'attendre un peu qu'il eust ouy la Messe, et remettre leur chant. Ils n'en firent rien, mais chantèrent plus haut, et s'y braverent M. de Guise.* *Discours*, lxxviii. vol. vi. p. 240. We need not say that all this account is imaginary, and indeed appears borrowed from the tumult at St. Medard.

† *Qui a contumeliis facto initio, inibi congregatos canes, a Deo ac Rege rebelles, sæpius appellant.*—De Thou, *ut sup.*

when the Reformed closed the doors of the large barn which served them as a meeting-house, the Guisards dismounting from their horses, burst in and attacked the unresisting crowd with drawn swords. The shrieks of women and children imploring help and mercy, the trampling of those who were either rushing in or seeking exit, the shots fired at some of the Huguenots, who, thinking to escape by untiling the roof, were brought down "like so many pigeons,"* and the general clamour of the tumult, soon called the duke to the spot; and while attempting to check the conflict, he received a slight scratch on the cheek, which drew blood. The sight of their master's wound inflamed the fury of his retainers, and gave the licentious among them a pretext for unbridled outrage. In spite of his menaces and entreaties, in which there can be no doubt he was sincere, sixty Huguenots were killed, and more than two hundred wounded; among the latter was their pastor, Leonard Morel, first brought on his knees by a pistol-shot, and then twice savagely cut on the head by a sword. The benches and pulpit were shattered in pieces, the Bible and service books destroyed, the dead bodies of the fallen victims stripped for plunder, the alms chest was despoiled of its contents, and some houses in the immediate neighbourhood were broken open and robbed.†

* *Tirans sur ces pauvres gens les faisoient tomber en bas dudict toict, comme on feroit des pigeons estans sur un toict.*—*Discours entier*, &c. p. 137.

† Dr. Lingard asserts that "there is every reason to believe that this affray was accidental, and provoked by the religionists themselves."—*Hist. of England*, 4to. vol. v. ch. 4. p. 198. note 2. His first assertion we are not inclined to dispute; the second is not avouched by a majority of the writers whom we have consulted; and the reader shall decide for himself how far it is supported by those upon whom Dr. Lingard relies, and whom it may therefore be supposed he considers most authoritative.

Dr. Lingard first refers to La Popeliniere, (Voësin, *Hist. des Troubles*, &c.) liv. vii. p. 283. We will quote the passage as we find it in that author. *Comme il avient qu'en toutes troupes le nombre des plus folz est souvent le maistre sur les plus avisez, aucuns de ses assemblez se fians au nombre de plus de douze cens qu'ils estoient au Presche, et ceux là en la*

Miserably distracted as was the condition of France at this moment—for there was scarcely a town of any note in the provinces which had not witnessed scenes of violence and outrage, arising from religious dissension—no event so flagrant as the massacre at Vassy had as yet forced itself on public notice. The Reformed ministers at Paris were advised by the governor to suspend their meetings in the suburbs for a few days, till the first exacerbation had subsided; but they peremptorily refused such an abandonment of duty; and demanded his protection so long as they observed the provisions of the king's edict. Their congregations then determined to address an accusation of the Duke of Guise, not to the parliament, notoriously hostile to their interests, but at once to the crown; and the nobility deputed Francour,—the ministers, Beza,—to convey their memorial to the queen mother, who, together with the king, had withdrawn from the turbulence of the capital to a small but favourite

force de leurs armes, si harcelèrent tellement petit à petit, qu'en fin le bruit vint jusques aux oreilles de la Brosse, Lieutenant de la Compagnie du Duc, des plus ardens Catholiques, qu'aucuns Reformez avoient injuriez, les autres jetez des picrres à plusieurs de la troupe. Lesquels aussi ne s'estoyent peu commander de se moquer et injurier les Ministres et tous ceux qui estoient à l'assemblée. Bref, comme des paroles les mains sages et plus eschauffez viennent ordinairement aux mains, et de petit feu croist un grand embrasement, l'indiscretion d'aucuns et la hardiesse que la nature des armes apporte à ceux qui en vcullent user pour servir à leurs passions fut telle, qu'après que plusieurs furent entrez au dedans l'espée au poins, c'estoit à qui les suyvroit pour se mieux venger de toute la troupe jà esperdue et taschant à se sauver de toutes parts.

The blame of commencement here seems pretty equally divided; and Dr. Lingard does not gain much, even if we admit the report conveyed to La Brosse by his own men to be true. On this point, Castelnau says the first stones were thrown by the Huguenots; De Thou, by the Guisards.

But to come to Brantome, of the value of whose authority we have already said a few words, for which we were inclined to blame ourselves upon learning that he was an eye-witness of the transaction. Brantome, says Dr. Lingard, "was PRESENT BOTH AT VASSY and at his (the Duke of Guise's) death." We are consoled, however, by Brantome himself, who expressly says, after underrating the émeute et le desordre que les Huguenots, alors et depuis, ont tant appelé, cryé et renommé "le Massacre de Vassy," *ce qui ne fut que peu de chose. JE N'Y ESTOIS PAS.*—p. 246, *ut sup.*

residence at Monceaux en Brie. Catherine graciously answered, that she would direct informations to be taken, and that a thorough inquiry should be instituted, provided the Huguenots remained quiet; she hoped that the Duke of Guise meantime would not continue his journey to Paris, which indeed she had written to forbid.* The King of Navarre was present at the audience; for Catherine, not without hope of weakening the new ties by which he had bound himself to the Triumvirs, if she could withdraw him but for awhile from Paris, had spread a lure which she well knew the weak prince would not be able to resist; and when she ordered the fair La Rouet, one of her maids of honour, to accompany the court, she rightly anticipated that the King of Navarre would follow. Sternly regarding Beza, he accused the Huguenots of now attending worship with arms! Beza replied, that arms, when borne by men of discretion, were the surest guarantee of peace; and that since the transactions at Vassy, their adoption had become necessary till the church should receive surer protection; a protection which he humbly requested, in the name of those brethren who had hitherto placed so great dependance on his majesty. The Cardinal of Ferrara here interrupted him by some incorrect representation of the tumult at St. Medard; but he was silenced by Beza, who spoke of those occurrences as an eye-witness, and then reverted to the menacing advance of the Duke of Guise upon Paris. The King of Navarre declared with warmth, that whoever should touch the little finger of "his brother," the Duke of Guise, might as well presume to touch the whole of his own body.

* This is the account of Catherine's answer, if not written, most probably furnished by Beza in the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* ii. 2. Garnier, without citing any authority, makes her state that she knew the Duke of Guise to be so discreet and prudent, that she could not believe all she had heard of him, xv. 268. But Catherine, at that moment, had neither reason nor inclination to speak thus favourably of the Duke of Guise.

Beza replied with gentleness, but with dignity; he implored the King of Navarre to listen patiently, reminded him of their long intercourse, and of the special invitation from his majesty, in consequence of which he had returned to France in the hope of assisting in its pacification. "Sire," he concluded in memorable words, "it belongs in truth to the church of God, in the name of which I address you, to *suffer* blows, not to *strike* them. But at the same time let it be your pleasure to remember that THE CHURCH IS AN ANVIL WHICH HAS WORN OUT MANY A HAMMER."*

The Duke of Guise, nevertheless, proceeded onward, and entered Paris by the gate of St. Denis, escorted by the constable, the Maréchal St. André, and a numerous and well-appointed retinue. Almost at the same moment, the Prince of Condé, returning from a sermon preached without the walls, passed through the gate of St. Jaques; and the two companies encountered each other while traversing the city. The collision, however, was without any evil result; and, although both parties were armed, they did no more than courteously salute each other in passing. Many circumstances attendant upon this reappearance of Guise, were calculated to excite just umbrage and alarm in the breast of Catherine. It was remarked that he had purposely deviated from the customary route, and had made an unnecessary circuit, in order to enter Paris by the gate of St. Denis, the approach always selected for the state processions of the king; that the præfects of the commercial guilds and the aldermen of the city had received him with civic honours; and that the shouts

* A device suggested by this noble apostrophe is engraven on the title-page of the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* Three warriors in complete armour, representing the Triumvirate, are beating an anvil with sledge-hammers, one of which is just shattered in its handle. The group is encircled by the following legend:

*Plus à me frapper on s'amuse
Tant plus de marteaux on y use.*

of the rabble were couched in terms hitherto reserved for the ear of royalty. These pointed coincidences awakened in Catherine so profound a suspicion of Guise's ulterior and ambitious designs, that she threw herself altogether on the Prince of Condé; and her letters, which are still extant,* betray the keenest anxiety for his support. At a subsequent period, indeed, when it was her policy to deny this connexion, and Condé, in order to prove its existence, exhibited these letters to the German Protestant courts, she put a gloss upon their contents, which is among the most memorable instances of her extraordinary subtilty. Every sentence appeared so ambiguously worded, as to admit a double meaning, and all dates had been purposely omitted. She contended that her sole object was to induce Condé to leave Paris; and with but little violence it certainly was possible to put that construction on her expressions; yet, at the same time, it is plain to the simplest understanding, that such an interpretation was not that which she intended to be most obvious.

The Prince of Condé did indeed retire; not in compliance with any wish expressed by Catherine; but from his own perception, that if he remained it must be to encounter a most unequal contest. The Triumvirs were now united in Paris, within the walls of which city lay their principal strength. Their intention to obstruct the fulfilment of the Edict of January was manifest from the violence committed at Vassy; and the Huguenots, if they sought to preserve themselves from annihilation, could do so only by the sword. But if the sword were first drawn in the capital, in the face of a greatly superior enemy, little would be their prospect of success. One mode, indeed, occurred to some of their more zealous leaders, by which they might free themselves at a

* They are printed by Le Laboureur, in his *Additions aux Mém. de Castelneau*, liv. iii. c. 8, in the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* tom. ii. p. 50, and in the *Mém. de Condé*, iii. 213.

blow; but it was a mode too detestable to be adopted: and when they proposed to the consistory to assassinate the Duke of Guise, while present at a religious solemnity, at which he had declared his intention of assisting, they were peremptorily forbidden to entertain such a project; and instructed that the will of God must be endured without resorting to guilty measures for escape from calamity.

In order to effect a junction with the forces which the admiral had been collecting, the Prince of Condé withdrew to Meaux. The policy of this abandonment of the capital has been arraigned;* and one of its immediate disadvantages was considerable; it enabled the Triumvirs to secure without opposition the persons of Catherine and the king, whose names they sagaciously foresaw would be a tower of strength in the approaching conflict. When the royal train entered the castle of Melun, in which they were first lodged, an attendant, intentionally or inadvertently, remarked in their hearing, that more than a century had elapsed since its towers were appropriated to any other purpose than that of a state prison. The queen listened to the words unmoved, and with a cheerful countenance; her son, not yet confirmed in dissimulation, burst into natural tears. On the following morning they were conveyed to Paris, where the constable signalized their entry by a petty triumph, the destruction of two meeting-houses, together with their desks, pulpits, and

* It is defended at much length by De la Noue, who has devoted an entire chapter to the question. He states that the "assured strength" of the Protestants in Paris consisted of only "three hundred gentlemen and as many trayned souldiours, four hundred schollers, and a few voluntarie burgeses of no experience. And what else was all this agaynst in manner an infinite number of people, but a small fle agaynst an elephant. I thinke that onellie the novices of the conventes, together with the priestes' wenches coming soudainelie upon them, with fagot stickes in theyr handes, had been able to have withstoode them." *Certaine observations of divers things happened in the three first troubles of France appended to the politicke and militarie discourses of the Lord de la Noue, translated by E. A. 1587. p. 351.*

benches. These narrow-minded outrages, little worthy of the high dignity of his illustrious name and office, gained for him a brief popularity from the Popish rabble, and from the Huguenots, the well-deserved sobriquet of Captain *Brûle-banc*.*

Condé, meantime, well convinced that civil war was inevitable, concerted measures with the admiral for the surprise of Orleans; a city, the possession of which, next to that of Paris, seemed most important to their interests. Commencing his march from Meaux, at the head of fifteen hundred horse, he was detained for several hours at Angeville by letters from the queen, proposing accommodation; they had been despatched by the suggestion of the Triumvirate, and they nearly proved fatal to his enterprise. Warned, however, by a messenger from Coligny that the enemy sought only to amuse him, and that their troops, already advancing, might perhaps gain a march, he sprang immediately to the saddle, nor drew bit till he arrived at the gates of Orleans. In his speed, many of his followers were either thrown from their horses, or lost their caps, gloves, cloaks, and other equipments by the way; so that the travellers whom they passed in their desperate gallop marvelled greatly at the uncouth spectacle which they presented, doubting whether they were madmen or drunkards.† It was on the first of April that the prince entered Orleans, the streets of which city were lined by eagerly expectant Huguenots, singing psalms as he passed between their ranks.

* Brantome, Discours, lxii. tom. v. p. 377, where he adds, *dont il ne s'en soucioit gueres, car il portoit d'autres plus beaux titres et plus illustres marques que celle-là*.

† De Thou, xxix. 13. "Innumerable were the people that they mette by the waie going to Paris, who, beholding the mysterie of this course, and withal that none asked them anie question, did, for the most part, at the first thinke that all the fooles in Fraunce had been there assembled, or else that it had been for some wager for ordinariilie by the waie they might behold servants cast downe, horses shouldered and tyred, and sumpters overthrowen, which bred continual sporte even in those which did runne."—De La Noue, 354

On reviewing his adherents, the Prince of Condé had good reason to be well pleased. Among the most distinguished were numbered the three Châtillons; Antoine de Croy, Prince of Porcean, one of the greatest captains of his time;* Francis, Count of la Rochefoucault, an experienced officer, and the most rich and powerful Baron of Poitou; René, Viscount of Rohan, a cousin of the Queen of Navarre; Antoine, Count of Grammont, who headed six thousand veteran Gascons; Gabriel, Count of Montgomery, the well-known soldier of Scottish descent, who had been compelled to absent himself from court since the day of his fatal just with Henry II.; the Lords of Soubise, of Duras, of Mouy, of Esternoy, and his brother, of Genlis,† all valiant commanders; besides a numerous train of other brave and gallant gentlemen of ancient families. By the advice of these distinguished counsellors, an association was formed in Orleans, on the 11th of April, after a solemn reception of the communion. The manifesto which it immediately promulgated, declared that the audacity, rashness, and ambition of certain subjects of the king were so great, that they had not only taken up arms against the royal edicts, but had also put to death a large number of peaceable citizens assembled for the worship of God, under the protection of those edicts; and furthermore had seized the persons of the king, the queen, and the Duke of Orleans. That such acts evinced a design, under the pretended authority of the king, now imprisoned and detained in captivity, to ruin

* The Prince of Porcean, when on his death-bed, suspecting his wife, a niece of the Prince of Condé, of some inclination to Henry, (son of Francis) Duke of Guise, made it his last request, that, if she married again, she would not bestow her hand upon that man in the kingdom whom he considered to be his greatest enemy. We do not know whether the widow-elect gave the promise required; but in due season she became Duchess of Guise.

† Adrian de Hangest, Lord of Genlis, is remarkable for having been the father of thirty-two children by one wife, Frances du Maz, and yet more so in that all those children died without issue.

the true religion, and all those of the nobility and *Tiers Etat*, who had embraced it. That the undersigned, therefore, desirous to restore the king to safety and the queen to authority, and to preserve to his subjects the liberty of conscience which had been guaranteed to them by royal edicts, advised and sanctioned by the princes of the blood, by the privy council, by the *notables*, and by the majority of the states, were now compelled to have recourse to arms; the sole means with which God had furnished them for the resistance of oppression. They swore, therefore, before God and His angels, to observe inviolably, and in every point, the terms of the association and holy companionship into which they now entered. First, they renounced all private interests and passions, addressing themselves entirely to the honour of God, the deliverance of the king and queen, and the observance of the edicts; for which objects they would employ their bodies, their property, and their very last drop of blood. The association should continue until the king attained his majority, at which time they would submit themselves entirely to his single will and pleasure, confident that they should be able to render a good account of the purity of both their motives and actions. Secondly, in order to evince that purity, they swore not to suffer any offence, which might derogate from the commandments of God and the king, to be committed with impunity by any member of their association; determining to execute justice strictly against idolatries, superstitions, blasphemies, uncleanness, violence, rapes, pillage, breaking of images, plunder of churches, and in general against all acts prohibited by God and the Edict of January. In order to secure obedience to the word of God, they determined to entertain among them good and faithful ministers, who should teach God's will, and to whom they would constantly afford a ready and patient hearing. Thirdly, they named for

their chief and leader the Prince of Condé, by birth one of the natural counsellors and protectors of the crown; they swore obedience to him in every thing which concerned the association; submission to whatever punishments he should adjudge against rebellion or negligence; and equal obedience and submission to any deputy whom he might appoint, in case of an interruption of his executive duties. The prince, on the other hand, accepted this high charge, in conformity with the tenor of all the conditions of the association. Fourthly, they comprised and associated within their present fellowship, all members of the king's council, excepting those who should bear arms against their conscience, and in order to restrain the free will of the king and queen. Such persons they denounced as guilty of high treason, and as disturbers of the public tranquillity. For the above purposes, which they repeated were the maintenance of the honour of God, of the peace of the kingdom, and of the liberty of the king, under the government of the queen his mother, all, from the highest to the lowest among them, swore to place at the disposal of the Prince of Condé, arms, horses, and personal service to the very uttermost extent of their ability; and wherever they should hear of violence committed against any member of their association, in any part of the kingdom, contrary to the Edict of January, to assist him according to the prince's orders, and as if the wrong had been offered to themselves individually. Finally, if any treason or rebellion should be detected in their body, they swore, as they hoped for a portion in Paradise, to reveal it on the moment to the prince their leader.*

A somewhat detailed notice of this important document has appeared necessary, because it throws much light on the avowed objects of the Huguenots; and by the extraordinary powers which it bestowed

* *Traicté d'Association, &c. Mém. de Condé, iii. 258.*

upon the Prince of Condé, plainly evinces the unbounded confidence reposed in him by his party. But our limits will not permit us to follow step by step the ensuing war of manifestoes, which preluded the more active contest in the field. The Triumvirate, and their tool the parliament of Paris, loudly affirmed that the king was in the enjoyment of entire liberty, and they employed his name in letters patent, as if issued by himself, to avouch this falsehood. They took pains also to impress a belief that the Edict of January would be observed; but when it was added, that this was only to be considered a provisional law, and that Paris was to be excepted from its operation, the boon was rendered of little value.

CHAPTER VII.

Mutual outrages—Enormities of Blaise de Montluc and of the Baron des Adrets—III^d National Synod—Alliance between the Huguenots and Queen Elizabeth—Her Manifesto—The armies take the field—Siege of Rouen—The King of Navarre wounded—Rouen stormed—Adventure of De Cville—Death of the King of Navarre—Condé's Dream—Battle of Dreux—Death of the Maréchal St. André—Capture of Montmorency and Condé—Siege of Orleans—Assassination of the Duke of Guise—Account of Poltrot—He accuses the Admiral and Beza—His execution—Defence of the Admiral and Beza—Condé advises with the Huguenot Ministers relative to peace—Treaty of Amboise—Disappointment of the Admiral—Peace with England.

DURING the fearful pause which now occurred while the hostile parties were gathering strength for battle, France was convulsed throughout her whole circuit; and each cause was dishonoured, perhaps with equal frequency, by the excesses of some of its followers. Even in Orleans, and under the very eye of the Huguenot leaders, who proclaimed and endeavoured to enforce the strictest discipline, fanatical violence exhibited itself in the continual plunder of churches

and the demolition of their ornaments. The Prince of Condé, when summoned one day to repress a tumult in the church of S^{te} Croix, repeatedly ordered an image-breaker to desist from his work of destruction. But the enthusiast pursued his task without noticing the command; till the prince, irritated by his obstinacy, and willing to strike terror by a single strong example, levelled a pistol, and threatened him with instant death. Undeterred by this menace, the zealot calmly replied, "Have patience, sir, but for a few minutes, until I have destroyed this idol, and then kill me if you please."*

Happy would it have been if senseless stones had proved the only objects of violence; but when on the occupation of Orleans the chief cities in many of the surrounding provinces declared in favour of the association, the Huguenots in Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Poitou, Angoumois, and Berry, took arms and chased the priests, often not without much bloodshed, from the numerous opulent ecclesiastical foundations with which those districts abounded. On the other hand, Sens, Amiens, and Abbeville, were severely visited by the Catholics; and in the first-named town more than one hundred Huguenots perished in a single day. In the south, the devastation was still greater; Orange was sacked by a detachment of Papal troops from Avignon, who practised barbarities which we cannot venture to detail, but which are too well authenticated by the incontestable evidence of De Thou.† "Great and marvellous is the pity!" exclaims Pasquier, writing at the moment, "every body asserts his religion, his loyalty, and his patriotism, but I see not one who under these goodly pretexts does not do his utmost to ruin the kingdom from its very base. All around me is trouble and confusion." "It would be impossible," he continues, "to relate the manifold atrocities committed on the one side and on the

* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* ii. 32. † xxxi. 11.

other. Wherever the Huguenots have the mastery, they shatter the images, those ancient cements of popular devotion; they demolish monuments and sepulchres, so that in passing through Clery they violated even the tomb of Louis XI., and they plunder all the treasure which piety has hallowed in the churches. In reprisal, the Catholics stab, drown, and massacre every sectary whom they recognise, so that the very rivers are choked with the dead. And many are those who, affecting to espouse the public quarrel, revenge their own private feuds, and perpetrate crimes at which their leaders are forced to connive.”*

Upon themes thus revolting it is by no means our intention to expatiate;† but there are two personages who obtained by their enormities a notoriety so hideous, that the history of the times would be imperfect if we passed them over wholly in silence. Blaise de Montluc, Governor of Guyenne, had adopted principles widely different from those professed by his brother the Bishop of Valence. “He was very cruel in these civil wars,” says a writer, who has endeavoured to represent his crimes as so many virtues, “and he gained in them large sums of money; so that although in their outset he was but scantily provided, at their close he found one hundred thousand crowns in his coffers; yet he did not wish for the total extermination of the Huguenots, it being a favourite maxim with him that a tree which yielded fruit so rich should neither be cut down nor uprooted.”‡ This savage, whose reckless

* *Lettres*, tom. i. liv. iv. pp. 232, 233.

† The catalogue of victims who suffered under the persecution of Sommerive, Deputy-Governor of Provence in 1562, occupies forty pages in the *Hist. des Égl. Ref.* iii. 337. 377, and contains the following subdivisions of wretchedness. *Ceux qui ont été tirés des prisons, pendus, précipités et massacrés, brûlés, lapidés, tués et trainés, tués et précipités, morts d'espouvantement, fendus et desmembrés, vifs, enterrés tous vifs, desenterrés et jettés aux chiens, morts de faim et de froid, arquebuzés, enfans tués, enfans morts d'espouvantement, enfans morts de faim;* besides other modes of destruction too horrible for citation.

‡ Brantome, *Discours*, lxx. tom. vi. p. 56.

perpetration of wholesale butchery obtained for him the distinguished honour of a marshalship of France, has taken pains to blazon the atrocities of which he felt proud; and every step in his career of blood has been traced by his own pen in autobiographical *commentaries*. No sooner had he received the commission by which he was authorized to ravage his province, than he began strict inquisition into the "strange names" of overseers, deacons, consistories, synods, and conferences; "food of which kind," he adds, "never yet had furnished me with a breakfast."* In a similar strain of bitter sportiveness, which, like the sneer of Goethe's embodied fiend, aggravates the horrors he is relating, he proceeds to inform us that in the outset he secretly provided himself with two executioners; that, from their constant attendance upon him, they went familiarly by the name of his lacqueys, and that both were completely equipped for their trade, and furnished above all with a very keen-edged axe.† Thus esquired, he issued forth on his first adventure, and at St. Mezard he encountered four Huguenots, who were accused of having spoken disrespectfully of the king. Seizing one of them by the throat, and loading him with terms of execration, he dashed him forcibly to the ground, where he fell against the stump of a broken cross. Then calling out to the executioner, "strike scoundrel!" it was not easy to tell whether the words or the blow were first ended, and half a foot of the broken cross was cut through at the same time with the neck of the victim. Of the others, two were hanged on the next tree; the last, a deacon but eighteen years of age, received assurance that his life should be spared, but was so severely beaten that he expired ten days afterward.

* *N'ayans jamais esté desjeunez de telles viandes.*—*Comment.* liv. v. tom. ii. p. 3.

† *Je recouvray secretement deux bourreaux, lesquels on appella depuis mes laquais, par ce qu'ils estoient souvent après moi . . . bien équipés de leurs armes, et surtout d'un marassau bien trenchant.*—*Ibid.* pp. 19. 22.

"And this," concludes Montluc triumphantly, "was my first achievement when I set out from home, without either sentence or writing, for I had heard say that it was wisest to begin with execution."* At Cahors, in one day, "to make short work," thirty or "perhaps forty" Huguenots, (so carelessly did he keep account of human life!) were hanged or broken on the wheel.† At Gironde, sixty were strung up at once to the colonnade of the town hall. At the storming of Montsegur, he numbered seven hundred dead bodies in the streets, and rejoiced in the farther assurance that a great many other victims had perished by leaping over the walls. At Pene, and afterward at Lectoure, he filled up very deep wells with the corpses of the slain; in the latter place the festering piles were heaped so near the mouth that they might be touched by the hand; and in both cases he chuckles at the remembrance "that it was an excellent method of disposing of those naughty boys."‡ But the consummation of his brutal delight was reserved for Toulouse, in which city, as he records with overflowing satisfaction, he "saw more heads fly than ever he had seen before!"§

Impossible as it may appear, Montluc was equalled, if not exceeded in barbarity, by one whom ungovernable resentment and temporary interest induced for awhile to ally himself to the antagonists of the Triumvirate; but whose total want of principle and subsequent bitter enmity against the Huguenots, happily exclude him from even nominal connexion with them in their religious profession. François de Beaumont, Baron des Adrets, after having served in youth with no small distinction in Italy, was frustrated in a legal process by the influence of the Duke of Guise, and retired to his estate in Dauphiné, thirsting for revenge. By his intrigues in that pro-

* *Ibid.* p. 22. † *Ibid.* p. 27.

‡ *Ce fut un tres belle despeche de tres mauvais garcons.—Ibid.* 121.

§ *Et ne vis jamais tant de testes voler que là.—Ibid.* 53.

vince, having excited a tumult which led to the assassination of its governor, he seized his office; and announced to the queen mother, with whom he entertained a secret correspondence, that he had been elevated to it by popular election; and that, together with the faithful subjects who had selected him as their leader, he was about to march on Paris for her deliverance. His operations, however, were directed in the first instance on Lyons, which he surprised and mastered; and by rapid and most unexpected movements he spread terror throughout every city of the south, "which dreaded him more than a hurricane sweeping over the standing corn."* Continuing to act in the name of the Prince of Condé, he enriched himself by pillage from every town which he occupied, and especially by the demolition of the opulent and celebrated Chartreux, near Grenoble, the parliament of which city he compelled to attend the Huguenot service. On one occasion, after having sacked the castle of Montbrison, in Veneissin, he put half of its garrison to the sword at the moment, and reserved their comrades, to whom he had promised quarter, for a more horrible mode of death, which he had on former occasions inflicted elsewhere. The keep of the castle was remarkable for its height, and Des Adrets seating himself after dinner on its platform, commanded that his prisoners should be led out, and looked on with grim delight while they were forced to throw themselves from its battlements. One only out of the whole number escaped, and he owed his life to a cool and ready answer. He had already run thrice to the very edge of the tower, and as often had shrunk back from the fatal leap, when Des Adrets impatiently taunted him with cowardice, and desired him not to lose more time. To his no small surprise, the soldier turned round without one mark

* Brantome, *Discours*, lxx. *Digression sur le Baron des Adrets*, t^{em}. vi. p. 57.

of fear, and replied with unmoved self-possession, "Brave as you may be, my Lord Baron, I will give you ten times before you take that same jump." Struck by so unexpected a challenge, the wretch relented; but in the same breath in which he gave this victim freedom, he summoned another to the tower, and renewed the horrors of his diversion.* When intelligence of these atrocities reached the ears of the associated Huguenots, they exclaimed that Des Adrets was a Goliath who dishonoured the armies of Israel, and the Prince of Condé immediately superseded him in the command with which he had been unworthily intrusted. This dismissal awakened feelings of resentment in Des Adrets more lasting than those which he had entertained against the Duke of Guise; and at a subsequent period we find him engaged in open warfare against the Reformed, although with success far different from that by which he had been distinguished while their adherent.

To return to Orleans. The III^d synod of the French Reformed Church was held in that city on the 25th of April, but its transactions were altogether unimportant. The Prince of Condé, well aware that the Guises had negotiated for auxiliaries both with the Pope and with the King of Spain, sought to strengthen himself also by a foreign alliance. None, however, could be more odious to France than that in which he engaged, and none was ever more unproductive of advantage. The greater part of Normandy was in his possession, and he offered to deliver Havre to the English, provided Elizabeth would garrison it with three thousand men, furnish three thousand more for the defence of Rouen and Dieppe, and advance a subsidy of one hundred thousand crowns.

* Garnier, xv. 305. De Thou, who saw this monster ten years after these sanguinary exploits, gives the following striking description of his person. *Erat oculis truculentis, naso aquilino, facie macilentâ, sed ruboribus interfusus, ut lutum sanguine maceratum, quod in P. Corn. Sullâ observatum est, ori inspersum diceret.*—In *Vitâ suâ*, p. 1165.

This proposal was readily accepted, and the troops were immediately despatched; but Dieppe being found untenable, was as immediately abandoned. It could not but be remarked, much to Condé's injury, that he thus voluntarily surrendered to the inveterate enemies of his country, a post commanding the mouth of the Seine, furnishing a key to the very heart of the kingdom, and far more important than Calais, which the bravery of the Duke of Guise had won from their dominion. Elizabeth hated the Guises from her very soul; the duke had commanded the French army by which Calais had been reconquered; the Cardinal of Lorraine had been indefatigable in efforts to procure her excommunication at Rome; and both of them were uncles to Mary of Scotland, her rival both as a queen and as a woman. In her manifesto, therefore, on concluding this treaty, she pointedly denounced them as authors of the troubles under which France was suffering; she spoke of the danger to which the person of the Christian king, her good brother, was exposed by the ambition of some of his subjects, which not only placed his own realm in peril, but all Christendom also, and especially England. Alluding to Vassy, she lamented that the name of the captive king had been abused to authorize the butchery of his unarmed and innocent people, the sack and spoil of his richest cities, the breach of his best advised edicts, the persecution of the princes of his blood and of his nobles, the ruin and destruction of his loyal servants. These, and an infinity of similar crimes, she said, were perpetrated for no other object than to satisfy the particular interests and passions of certain individuals, who had violently broken down ordinances framed after long and mature deliberation by the states of the kingdom, for the repose and tranquillity of religion, and for the good of the realm and its sovereign. She then complained that many of her subjects, trading to Britany, had been seized and

plundered, and those who defended themselves massacred, by officers of the French government, under no other pretext than that they were what are called Huguenots; that her remonstrances had been disregarded, and therefore that, in order to counteract the violence of the Duke of Guise (mentioning him by name) and his adherents, she had resolved to send over troops who might preserve certain ports for her brother the king during his minority. In conclusion, she affirmed before God, His angels, and all mankind, that she had no one object in view, except the defence of the loyal subjects of her said brother, who apparently could not otherwise escape destruction.*

We pass over the fruitless negotiations between Catherine and the Prince of Condé. Their personal conference at Thuri,† in the beginning of June, appears to have produced increased exacerbation; and the queen either possessed, or affected to possess, but little power to assent to any proposition which Condé might be justified in advancing. When negotiation failed, an attempt was made by the par-

* The manifesto may be found at length in the *Mém de Condé*, iii. 694.

† De La Nouë, who was present at the conference, has left a very touching picture of it. One hundred men on either side accompanied the queen and Condé respectively, and they were ordered to keep at a considerable distance asunder. "Having thus beheld eyther other for the space of halfe an houre, each coveting to see one his brother, another his unkle, cousen, friende, or old companion, they craved leave of their superiours, which was hardlie graunted, in respect that at the first they were forbidden to meete for feare of injurys and affrayes. But so far were they from quarelling, that contrariwise there was nothing but salutations and embracings of such as could not forbear the demonstration of amitie unto those whome parentage or honestie had united unto them Then waighing with themselves that all these greetings would bee converted into bloodie murthers, uppon the least token of battayle that the superiours should give; that the viseardes being shut and readie, furie having vayed their sight, one brother would scarce pardon another, the water even stooode in their eyes. Myselfe was then among the Protestants, and I may trulie saie, that on the other side there were a douzen friendes whom I accounted as deere as my owne brethren, who also bore me lyke affection. Private amitie did as then live, but since these great calamities had course, and conversation discontinued, it is even dead in many."—356.

liament of Paris to separate the Prince of Condé from his associates; for in an *Arrêt* issued by its authority, exceptions were made in his single favour, while the Châtillons and other Huguenot leaders were denounced as enemies of God and of the crown of France, disturbers of public repose, and criminals guilty of high treason, whom it was the duty of every loyal subject to arrest and bring to punishment. The prince avoided the snare by a declaration in which he identified himself in all points with his friends.

Both armies were now in the field; and a pleasing picture has been drawn of the moral discipline of the Huguenots at the opening of the campaign.* Prayers were read night and morning at the head of each regiment by its own minister; no cursing nor reviling was heard in the ranks; no gambling nor bebauchery sullied the camp. Peasants, tradesmen, and strangers, resorted in safety to the military quarters, and neither the hope of forage nor of plunder allured the soldiers from their standards. In numbers they were much inferior to the royalists; who being thus enabled to adopt their own choice of movement, successfully occupied Blois and Tours; stormed Poitiers, and put its garrison to the sword; obtained possession of Bourges through the culpable weakness of its governor; and then determined upon the investment of Rouen, before it could be strengthened by the arrival of the English.

That city, the strongest in Normandy, was intrusted to the charge of Montgomery, the most enterprising chief among the Huguenots. Its garrison consisted of fifteen hundred veteran infantry, nearly six hundred horse, and a numerous band of civic militia, in whose ranks many women served with distinguished bravery. To these were afterward added a reinforcement of two hundred and twenty

* De Thou, xxx. 3. The morning and evening prayers are given in the *Mém. de Condé*, iii. 262.

English, under Lord Grey. The king, the queen mother, and the King of Navarre, took their station in the lines. Catherine was bitterly indignant when she saw the English detachment enter the city, apprehending that it might ultimately fall into their possession. She daily reconnoitred the outworks, regardless of the shower of balls which fell around; and when the Duke of Guise and the constable remonstrated against her exposure to danger, she told them laughingly that she had full as much courage, though not as much strength as themselves.* The Duke of Guise pushed his approaches rapidly; and his mines, the chief weapons employed in sieges in those times, were so skilfully constructed, that ultimate success appeared certain. Three weeks had passed in these operations, when the King of Navarre,—who, however deficient in moral courage, was physically brave, and who was piqued by the superior reputation which the Duke of Guise had acquired,—exposing himself too openly in the trenches, was struck by a musket ball. Twelve more Oct. 26. days elapsed before a final assault—it was the seventh—proved successful. The carnage was then horrible; Montgomery made good his retreat, but the greater part of the English detachment perished in the breach, and the city was given up during eight† days and nights to the license of a ferocious soldiery. Wearied with adjudging to imprisonment the numerous Huguenots who were dragged before him, Brevedent, the lieutenant of police, at length recommended from the seat of magistracy a more summary process. “Why,” said he, with a hideous blasphemy, “do you crowd the dungeons? Can you doubt what you ought to do? Is the river yet full?”‡ Nor was it only from the first horrors of a triumphant storm that the miserable

* Brantome, *Discours*, ii. tom. ii. p. 286.

† *Mém. de Castelnau*, liv. iii. c. 13.

‡ *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* ii. 664.

Rouenese were to suffer; their protracted defence, which for its gallantry might have excited admiration, was viewed as a crime; and its chief authors having escaped the fury of war, were destined in cooler blood to execution. Jean de Bosc, Lord of Mandeville and president of the court of aids, was beheaded. A less honourable punishment was inflicted on two ancient counsellors of the city, and on Augustin Marlorat; one of the twelve minsters who, it will be remembered, had been deputed to Poissy. The prisoners met their fate with constancy, more especially Marlorat, who was exposed to much rudeness and even violence from the bystanders at his execution.* His death excited profound grief and indignation at Orleans, and two prisoners of some note, the Abbé de Gastines and Baptist Sapin, the latter a counsellor of parliament and brother-in-law of the first president Le Maitre, were dragged to the scaffold in reprisal.

The unexampled escapes of an otherwise obscure individual from the perils of death, on more than one occasion during this siege, have given him fair title to remembrance. François de Cville, a gentleman serving in the garrison at the head of his own company, was wounded in one of the assaults by a musket ball, which entering at the right jaw lodged in the hinder part of his neck. Falling into the ditch, without any signs of life, he was immediately stripped by the pioneers, thrown together with another corpse into a hole, and loosely covered with earth. This rude burial happened about mid-day; and, at nightfall, a servant of De Cville, anxious to convey his master's remains to his family, obtained assistance and disinterred both bodies. Wounds and blood, however, had so totally disfigured them, that

* Several of Marlorat's tracts appear to have been favourites in England, if we may judge from their early translation. They are chiefly commentatorial. Details of the process against him and the other sufferers at Rouen, are given in the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* ii. 652. 660.

even this faithful retainer was unable to distinguish which was that of his master, and he hastily replaced them in their graves ; but as he withdrew, observing that an arm of one of them was still uncovered, he returned to protect it from violation by the dogs. While employed in this pious office, the moon shone brightly on one of the fingers still encircled by a diamond ring, which he recognised as his master's ; and overjoyed at this first discovery, he was still more so when upon again disengaging the entire body he found that it retained warmth, and some faint tokens of breathing. The surgeons to whom he conveyed it, perplexed by the great number of wounded, refused attention to a case which they at once pronounced to be desperate ; and four days elapsed during which De Civile received neither sustenance nor medical aid. At length, his wounds being dressed and some food administered, although not without difficulty from the convulsive locking of the teeth, he was slowly advancing to recovery, at the moment of the storm. During the horrors of that attack, the chamber in which he was lying helpless and unprotected was forced, and he was thrown by some ruffians from its window into the courtyard. His fall was luckily broken by a dung-heap below, on which during three days and nights he lay, unassisted and without nourishment, till having been found and relieved by some friends, he recovered, and survived for more than forty years afterward.*

The fate of the King of Navarre was less happy. He was conveyed on a shutter from the trenches immediately after receiving his wound ; and although he suffered so much agony from the motion that his bearers were frequently compelled to stop, and the surgeons on examination were unable to find the ball, the hurt at first was not considered dangerous. His hours of confinement were spent in toying with

* De Thou, xxxiii. 13

La Rouet* and in feeding an idle fancy on exaggerated visions of the riches and delights of his promised Sardinian kingdom. When informed of the capture of Rouen, although still a prisoner to his couch, he projected a triumphal entry. The wall of his chamber was thrown down, to allow the passage of a litter, and he was carried in it through the breach in the ramparts, preceded by military music. His wound meanwhile was prevented from healing by the presence of the ball and of some pieces of shattered bone ; and the commencement of internal mortification threatened a fatal result. As his danger manifestly increased, he threw aside all worldly thoughts, and bent himself wholly to the care of his salvation. Still halting, however, between the two creeds, he first confessed and received the *viaticum*, according to the Catholic rites : and afterward, when visited by Catherine, who urged upon him attention to the Scriptures, he summoned one of his physicians, Raphael de Mezieres, a Protestant, listened attentively to him while he read the book of Job, and then declared that, if he were permitted to recover, he would openly profess and maintain the tenets of the confession of Augsburg. Wearied by the tediousness of his confinement, he sought relief from change of air and place, in opposition to all medical advice, and while proceeding in a boat down the Seine, he was seized with shiverings, and compelled to land at Andely. It seemed as if neither church were willing to relax its doubtful hold upon his belief, while he retained one breath of life : for as Raphael prayed by his side during his last agonies, a Dominican friar was stealthily introduced in disguise, through the zeal of his brother, the Cardinal

* Louise de la Beraudiere de l'Isle Rouet bore a son to the King of Navarre ; she afterward, in 1580, married Robert de Combaud, and, according to the custom of the times, she carried with her as a portion the reversion of the Bishopric of *Cornoailles*, much to the satisfaction of the court wits, who deluged her husband with appropriate epigrams.

de Bourbon. The king evinced consciousness of the monk's presence, without, however, paying him attention. Already in the convulsions of death, he grasped the beard of one of his domestics, an Italian, and with his last words, urged him to be faithful to the prince his son, and to warn that son to preserve his fealty to the crown of France.* He died on the 17th of November, in the forty-fourth year of his age, little respected or regretted by either of the contending parties; and more blamed for the abuse, than approved for the possession of any good qualities with which he might have been originally endowed.†

Condé meanwhile had been largely reinforced from Germany; whence the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse, had despatched to his assistance three thousand three hundred *Reitres* and four thousand *Lansquenets*;‡ a force enabling him to move on Paris, which he hoped to find almost defenceless. The enterprise miscarried in consequence of the rapidity with which a portion of the royal army broke up from Rouen; and Condé retired on Normandy in disappointment. Thither also he was quickly followed; and the hostile forces took up a

* The details of the King of Navarre's conduct after his wound, and of his dying hours, may be found in the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* ii. 649, 665, and in De Thou, xxxiii. 17, 19. Some curious additional particulars are given in the *Mém. de Condé*, iv. 116.

† *Le Roy de Navarre est mort d'un coup de bale, qu'il n'est regretté des uns ny des autres.* Pasquier *Lettres*, liv. iv. tom. i. p. 234. But his character is, for the most part, represented with numerous contradictions; and the single point on which historians agree, regards the fineness of his person. Garnier, who may be trusted for having consulted most of his predecessors, after describing him as largely gifted with excellences by nature, as full of integrity, bravery, generosity, and as being in all points "a good citizen," finishes the picture by informing us that he had nevertheless one little defect: he was irresistibly given to picking pockets, (*filouterie*), insomuch that his pages always searched his clothes after he had undressed, in order that they might restore the property which they contained to the persons from whom he had stolen it.—xv. 370. *Quel vrai citoyen!*

‡ *Rittern und Landsknechte*, German horse and foot soldiers.

position near the little town of Dreux, so close to each other that a battle appeared inevitable. The constable and St. André, however, who were in command of the royalists, shrank from the responsibility, and they had recourse to Catherine for instructions. Never was the ingenuity of that wily queen more severely taxed to avoid committing herself by a perilous decision, and never was she more happy in securing her extrication from difficulty. "What!" she inquired sarcastically of Castelnau, the bearer of the demand, by whom this interview is related, "do the great captains of our time, send to ask a woman and a child whether Frenchmen shall draw their swords against each other? Nurse," she continued, turning to the king's nurse, a Huguenot, who chanced to enter the apartment at the moment, "since women are now chosen as counsellors, let us hear *your* opinion—shall the army give battle or not?"* The nurse, when pressed, replied more than once, that since the Huguenots would not listen to reason, she thought a battle was necessary. The privy council resolved that those who were honoured with military command were alone competent to judge of the propriety of military movements; and the generals, satisfied to find that the wish which they privily cherished for engagement did not meet with opposition at court, resolved to give battle without farther delay.

The memorable day which followed was not without its omens. "Of the two incidents which I am about to relate," says the historian who records them, "I can fully avouch the truth; one I witnessed with my own eyes; the other I heard with

* *Mémoires*, iv. 4. Brantome mentions this nurse as *une tressage et honneste femme*, who could do any thing with the king. Charles was always urging her to embrace the Catholic religion, without the slightest force or constraint. After the St. Bartholomew she thought it prudent to conform, *plus pour luy complaire que pour zele*, as she appears to have told Brantome in confidence one day when Charles was dead,—*Discours*, lxxxviii. tom. vii. p. 204.

my own ears." On the morning before the battle, as Condé was passing a rivulet near the castle of Maintenon, an aged woman, stepping into the mid stream, caught hold of his boot and stopped him. Then, after regarding him for awhile earnestly in the face, she loosed her grasp, uttering these words—"Go on, prince! much wilt thou suffer, but God is with thee." The prince, compassionating the wildness of her manner, moved by the solemnity of her expressions, or willing to encourage his followers by accepting the prophecy of good fortune, answered by thanks and a request for her prayers.

The second occurrence is far more striking. Condé on that same night being already in bed, and conversing familiarly with his attendants, turned to the minister who had just read prayers to the company. "To-morrow," he said, "if I am not much mistaken, whatever the admiral may think, we shall certainly fight. Now, although I know that little faith is to be given to dreams, I must tell you that which I dreamed last night. I thought that I had engaged in three battles, one after the other, and that I finally gained a victory, seeing my three enemies dead. But I myself also was mortally wounded; so that, having ordered the three corpses to be laid one upon the other, I placed myself above them, and rendered up my spirit to God." If it were Beza (and it probably was so) to whom the above words were spoken, he answered wisely with regard to the origin of these sleeping images, stating that the dream was the result of the waking thoughts by which the prince had long been anxiously occupied. The vague prediction hazarded by the excited fancy of the new sibyl demands little notice; but the subsequent realization of Condé's dream, to the very letter, may justly be numbered among the most remarkable of those coincidences which have sometimes appeared to defy the ridicule, if not to refute the reasonings

of that scepticism which denies the existence of any presentiment of futurity.*

Dec. 19. Military details little belong to our narrative. The battle of Dreux would have been won by the Huguenots, but for the coolness and presence of mind of the Duke of Guise.† That prince, who had twice held the distinguished rank of lieutenant-general of France, did not choose on this occasion to act subordinately to the constable; much less did he wish to dispute the command with him. He took his post, therefore, with a body of reserve, forming about six hundred horse, and chiefly composed of his own private friends. With these troops he was to act at discretion; and at a critical moment, when the rashness of the constable had sacrificed one entire division, and lost both his own liberty and that of St. André, who had hastened to his assistance, Guise, by a seasonable charge, compelled the admiral to retire, and thus, by keeping possession of the field, established his claim to victory. The loss on each side had been nearly equal; and between the two armies, not fewer than eight thousand men were killed. Among them was the Maréchal de St. André himself, pistolled in cold blood after he had surrendered, by a gentleman named Bobigny, in revenge for a grievous private wrong. But the most remarkable chance of war was that by which each of the opposing commanders-in-chief

* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* tom. ii. 228, 9, a portion probably written by Beza, who was present at the battle of Dreux.

† De La Noue mentions a very striking particularity in this battle most characteristic of the miseries of civil war. "Although both armies were above too long houres within a cannon-shot each of other, as well to put themselves in aray as to contemplate their adversaries, yet was there not any skirmish, small or great, before the general battell; albeit, in many other battells that have been fought, the same have been the forerunners There every man stooode fast, imagining in himscife that they who came against him were no Spaniards, Englishmen, nor Italians, but Frenchmen and those of the bravest: among whom were their companions, friendes, and kinsefolkes, as also that within one houre they were to slay each other. This bred some horror; neverthelesse, without quaying in courage, they thus stayed untill the armies moved to joyne."—380.

became a prisoner in the hands of his enemy. Montmorency was wounded and captured early in the day. The Prince of Condé, fighting even after the retreat of the admiral, and ever found among the rearmost of the combatants as his own division slowly followed, would have drawn off in safety but for the exhaustion of his horse. His interview with the Duke of Guise, when led to his tent after the battle, was distinguished by chivalrous feeling on both sides. Their numerous mutual injuries, the strong desire which each had avowed for revenge by an appeal to personal combat, their hostility but a few minutes before on the field of battle; all these causes of repulsion were forgotten in each other's presence; they exchanged courtesies and kindnesses, partook of the same table, and at night, as Condé's baggage was lost, according to a custom warranted by the times, they shared the same bed.*

Paris, meantime, was deeply agitated. Rumours had arrived of a total defeat, and it had been confirmed by fugitives from the scene of blood itself. One of these evil messengers, a Gascon officer of distinguished courage, named D'Aussun, having witnessed the signal discomfiture of the constable, and thinking that all was lost, rode at full speed to the capital, and announced the misfortune. So profound was his sensitiveness of wounded honour, that when he afterward learned the real event of the battle, in spite of the endeavours of the Duke of Guise to restore his self-esteem, by reminding him of his for-

* Perhaps the most honest account ever given of a defeat is that drawn up, apparently by the admiral, after the battle of Dreux, and inserted in the *Mém. de Condé*, iv. 178. The loss of the royalists was somewhat greater than that of their opponents, both in numbers and in personages of distinction. Among them, besides St. André, were M. de Montbrun, fourth son of the constable; the Duke of Nevers; and one whose death the Huguenots regarded as a judgment, La Brosse, a favourite officer in the service of the Duke of Guise, who was reported to have struck the first blow at Vassy. Another account of the battle, given by the Duke of Guise, is printed in the *Mém. de Condé*, iv. 685; and in the same volume (183) are two letters from Spanish officers engaged in it on the side of the royalists.

mer well-earned and brilliant reputation, he refused all food, and died after five days of mental suffering; more acute than that arising from his voluntary abstinence.* The conduct of the queen mother during these few trying hours of suspense has been variously represented; and a speech has been sometimes attributed to her, fully characteristic of her undisguised indifference concerning religion. "Is it so?" are said to have been her words when informed that the royal army was defeated, "then we shall say our prayers in French!"† But the story is improbable; for Catherine's fears must have been too powerfully awakened at that moment to permit the escape of so light an expression. Whatever might have been her wishes or designs before the open outbreak of war, and however much she might have rejoiced in any check to the power of the Triumvirate, she had latterly exhibited herself in too close union with them, not to render a complete triumph of the Huguenots a subject of the most painful apprehension; and she must have wished more than ever for the preservation of her favourite balance of parties. She had amused and deceived Condé; she had proclaimed the Châtillons traitors, and menaced them with the infliction of capital punishment; and what forbearance was to be expected from such enemies if left uncontrolled?‡ Great, therefore, was her relief, when, on the morning following the battle, a despatch arrived from the Duke of Guise, giving a succinct account of the alternations of fortune, and accompanied with the captured standards as a proof of its happy result.

Catherine, however, was still involved in no small difficulty. Freed from alarm at Coligny's possible

* Brantome, *Discours*, lxi. tom. vi. p. 38.

† "*Eh bien, nous ferons nos prières en Francois.*" *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*.—i. p. 649.

‡ De Thou represents her very naturally, and in strict conformity with her general character, *quæ etsi Condæo non omnino benè vellet, tamen multò magis suspectam Guisii prosperitatem habebat*.—xxxiv. 2.

resentment, she now perceived that the Duke of Guise had become all-powerful from the absence of competition. The deaths of the King of Navarre and of St. André, and the captivity of Montmorency, had left him without a rival; and, if the queen had hesitated to bestow, he was doubtless fully prepared to extort the appointment of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. In that authority, he greatly strengthened himself by an unusually lavish distribution of military patronage; and, having promoted the chief officers whose attachment he either wished to secure or had already experienced, in the commencement of the following year he made preparations for besieging Orleans. The admiral, after a skilful retreat, had wintered in that city, where he had been unanimously elected chief of the Huguenot association, during the captivity of their original leader. As spring began, he left the garrison well provided, and made an incursion into Normandy with his reistres; and while he was absent on that expedition, the Duke of Guise commenced the siege. Under his active superintendence, the approaches were rapidly conducted; and so proudly confident did he feel of success, that when some one spoke of difficulty, he replied with an oath, that since the sun found entrance into Orleans, *he* also would enter it.* But, on the evening of the 18th of February, while returning to his quarters, after having made dispositions for a general assault on that very night, with almost a certainty of success, he was wounded in the back of the right shoulder by three pistol bullets. Unapprehensive of danger, and consulting his ease, he had laid aside his cuirass; and the shock at first made him bow upon his horse's neck; but soon recovering, he observed to the two attendants with whom he had been conversing—"They have long owed me this, but I think it will be nothing."† The

* *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de France; Journal d'Henri III.* i. 24.

† Brantome, *Discours*, lxxviii. tom. vi. p. 260.

wound, however, quickly manifested dangerous appearances, and he prepared for death with great firmness and devotion. The queen mother visited him; he took an affectionate leave of his duchess,* tenderly exhorted his eldest son Henry; made a pointed declaration, which few will be so uncharitable as to disbelieve, that he was innocent of any premeditated intention of bloodshed at Vassy; and, after lingering six days, expired in his forty-fourth year,† leaving behind him a reputation for lofty powers of intellect, for courtesy, generosity, and valour, not exceeded by that of any of his contemporaries. How far these liberal gifts of nature were marred and defaced by immeasurable ambition, may be best determined by asking from the foregoing narrative in what degree they contributed to the glory, the happiness, or the tranquillity of his suffering country?

The wretched perpetrator of this foul assassination was Jean de Poltrot, Sieur de Merei in the province of Angoumois, misrepresented by a recent historian as a “deserter from the Huguenot army, and in the pay of the admiral.”‡ The first of these statements, as we shall perceive, is altogether untrue; the second does not contain the whole truth, and implies a falsehood. Poltrot, although scarcely six and twenty years of age, had seen much service, not altogether of the most reputable nature. His

* There appears to have been some mutual condonation with this lady. Lancelot de Carle, Bishop of Riez, has written a discourse which he would persuade us was pronounced by the duke in his last moments; but the author of the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* remarks that it is too theological for the duke's very limited acquaintance with divinity; and moreover, that in one passage it very grievously scandalizes the duchess; *à laquelle il lui fait confesser qu'il n'a pas tousjours esté loyal mari, ce qu'il la prioit luy pardonner, comme aussi il luy pardonna le semblable.*—ii. 270. Bishop Carle's account of Guise's last moments is given in the *Mém de Condé*, iv. 243. Immediately appended to it, and also afterward at the end of the volume, p. 696, may be found some curious notes relative to the variation in different editions of the passage affecting the duchess's reputation. See also *Remarques sur La Satyre Menippée*, tom. ii. p. 230.

† *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, i. p. 649.

‡ Lingard, *Hist. of England*, v. 208. 4to

first employment was under the Seigneur de Feuquieres, formerly governor to the young king, for whom he acted as a spy in the wars of Picardy; and he next attached himself to the Sieur de Soubise, at that time commanding in Lyons. To that officer he once stated his intention of delivering France from her miseries by the assassination of the Duke of Guise; and the declaration was received as wild and idle talk, which Soubise, however, thought it right to correct, by charging the boaster to perform his ordinary duties, and to leave God to execute His own purposes by His own methods. Not long afterward, Poltrot was sent, accidentally as it seems, with a despatch to the admiral, then at Selles, in Berri; and he conveyed at the same time a request from Soubise (which is worthy of observation as refuting all suspicion of a designed transfer of this envoy to the admiral's service) that he might not be detained, as he was of use in Lyons. At his own request, however, he proceeded round by Orleans, in which place he stated that he had private business to transact. The admiral, on his return, unexpectedly found him in that city; and, having heard more from Feuquieres of his *peculiar* capabilities, he gave him twenty crowns, and commissioned him to make observations on the enemy's camp. There, the ready knave obtained an introduction to the Duke of Guise, and so far deceived him as to be engaged on his side also for some treacherous attempt on Orleans, whither accordingly he returned without suspicion. The admiral was satisfied with the information which he brought back;* and wishing to procure yet closer insight into the designs of the besiegers, when Poltrot complained that he was badly mounted for an enterprise which might require a fleet horse, he

* Yet even then Coligny suspected his agent's fidelity, and told Grammont that he did not quite like the readiness with which he had obtained access to the enemy. *Réponse de Monseigneur l'Admiral aux Interrogatoires qu'on dit avoir esté faits à Jean de Poltrot sur la mort du feu Duc de Guise.*—*Mém. de Condé*, iv, 285.

ordered him a hundred crowns more to effect his desired purchase. Such, there can be little doubt, was the uttermost extent of Poltrot's connexion with the admiral, and so far and no farther was he "in his pay." His introduction to the Duke of Guise was obtained under the pretext of desertion from the Huguenots; but his real title was yet lower in the evil graduation of dishonour; he was not a deserter, but a spy.

After a short second abode in the camp before Orleans, Poltrot, on the morning of the fatal day, mounted his new horse, and riding to a wood in the neighbourhood, fell on his knees and prayed fervently to God that if the act he was about to commit was displeasing in His eyes, He would so far influence him by inward grace as to produce a change in his design; if otherwise, that He would strengthen and confirm him in his great purpose. "At the conclusion of this prayer," he says in one of his confessions, "I arose with so much lightness of spirit, that it seemed as if God led me by the hand to the execution of my enterprise."* He took his post accordingly, and levelling a pistol at the duke's shoulder as he passed, from a suspicion that he might wear a shirt of mail, he discharged it with murderous effect at the distance of six or seven paces. Then, clapping spurs to his horse, he eluded immediate pursuit; but after riding the greater part of the night, he discovered, on the following morning, that in consequence of his agitation and of want of sufficient acquaintance with the country, he had travelled nearly in a circle, and was still almost close to the spot whence he had originally started.† Both himself and his horse were so overpowered with fatigue, that repose be-

* Confession before he underwent the question.—*Hist. des Egl. Ref.* ii. 316.

† A similar instance of bewilderment, arising from guilt and fear, occasioned the apprehension of James of Lindsay, after he had assassinated Roger Kirkpatrick in his own castle of Caerlaveroc. See Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, iii. 359.

came necessary; and, while sleeping profoundly in a neighbouring farm-house, he was arrested on suspicion, and soon acknowledged his crime.

In reviewing the numerous and contradictory depositions which were afterward extorted from Poltrot, the conclusion at which we arrive respecting his character is, that he was simply a mercenary ruffian; who, although he had not bargained for his deed of blood beforehand, felt strong expectation that it would be rewarded after its perpetration. No tinge of insanity discolours his confessions; and except in the single instance of the prayer above mentioned, which rests but on his own worthless authority, not a trace appears of the fanaticism and mistaken sense of duty which afterward deluded Jacques Clement and Ravillac into the commission of similar crimes. When first seized and examined before the queen and council as to his employers, he accused the Seigneur de Feuquieres, and a Captain Brieu, who had been killed before Rouen. Those persons, he added, introduced him to the admiral, who renewed the proposal, and offered golden recompense. The Comte de la Rochefoucault was privy to the design; and Beza and another minister with whose name he was unacquainted, but whom he described to be of low stature with a black beard, represented it as pleasing to God and as a sure passport to Heaven. After these denouncements, he warned the queen that similar attempts were meditated against her life also; and that he had seen in the admiral's suite numerous determined spirits who had devoted themselves to the removal of every Catholic who might be appointed to succeed the Duke of Guise in his command. These avowals were alternately repeated and denied, with a view no doubt of gaining time and postponing his sentence, till on the 18th of March, the prisoner, after undergoing the question, was immediately dragged from his agonies in the chamber of torture to the

Place de Gréve, there to endure the yet more fearful and protracted sufferings which the French law adjudged as the punishment of a regicide.*

To the criminatory depositions of Poltrot, an answer was returned under the signatures of the admiral, the Comte de la Rochefoucault, and Beza, replying clause by clause to the accusations. The admiral explained his acquaintance with the assassin in terms similar to those in which we have already stated it; and then most particularly declared before God and man, that the charge of instigating him to his crime was falsely and wickedly conceived; that all the world was acquainted with what had passed between the Duke of Guise and himself; that he admitted frankly that before the late tumults he had known several persons who avowed an intention of killing the said duke, but that he had invariably discouraged and discountenanced such a course; and, as the Duchess of Guise could sufficiently testify, had often forewarned her late husband of the times and places designed. That it was true that since the massacre at Vassy, and since he had been compelled to draw his sword for the maintenance of the king's edict and the protection of the poor oppressed against the violence of the said duke and his adherents, he had continually pursued them as public enemies of God and the king; nevertheless he protested, on his life and honour, that he had never given assent or approval to any attempt upon the person of the said duke; while on the other hand

* The Duke of Guise, as lieutenant-general of France, represented the person of the king; and therefore his murder was considered to be regicide. Leonore de Humieres, (wife of William de Montmorency, fifth son of the constable,) was present, together with some other ladies, at Poltrot's execution; and was so overpowered by terror that she died in a few hours afterward. Le Laboureur, *Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau*, liv. iv. tom. ii. p. 220. One almost incredibly horrible fact relative to this execution, is stated in an account of the Duke of Guise's assassination, printed in the *Mém. de Condé*, iv. 241. *Il souffrit beaucoup avant que mourir: car d'autant qu'il avoit varié en sa déposition, après avoir enduré les tenailles ardentes et la dure secoussé des chevaulx il fut détaché et relevé pour l' examiner derechef*

he well knew that both the duke and the Maréchal de St. André had employed agents for the assassination of the Prince of Condé, of himself, and of his brother, the Sieur d'Andelot. He acknowledged that, on this account, whenever he had since heard any one say he would kill the Duke of Guise if he had the power, he had not been forward in forbidding him; but once more he declared upon his life and honour, that he had never courted, nor induced, nor solicited any person to such an act by words, money, or promises, by himself or by any other, directly or indirectly. He then explained the services on account of which he had given money to Poltrot; noticed the improbability, even if he had entertained the design imputed to him, that he should have admitted a person of such a class to his confidence; and concluded by owning his recollection that Poltrot once told him it would be an easy matter to kill the Duke of Guise; but that he paid little attention to the words at the time, and upon his life and honour had never opened his lips to encourage the proposition.*

La Rochefoucault peremptorily denied that he had ever heard the design mentioned. Beza declared that notwithstanding the great and general indignation aroused against the Duke of Guise on account of the massacre at Vassy, he had never entertained an opinion that he should be proceeded against otherwise than by the methods of ordinary justice; for the attainment of which purpose he had assisted with other deputies from the Reformed Churches in presenting a memorial to the queen and the late King of Navarre. He admitted that since the duke had commenced the war, he had exhorted the Reformed both by letters and sermons to use their arms; but he had at the same time inculcated the utmost pos-

* This answer of the admiral, La Rochefoucault, and Beza, together with the letter of the first-named to Catherine, are printed in the *Mém. de Condé*, iv. 309, and in the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* tom. iv. p. 303.

sible moderation, and had instructed them to seek peace above all things next to the honour of God; taking heed that they were not deceived. Moreover, that since he esteemed the Duke of Guise to be the principal author and fosterer of these troubles, he had numberless times prayed God that He would either change the duke's heart, (of which indeed he never entertained any hope,) or else that He would deliver the kingdom from his tyranny: but that he had never held communication either by himself or by any other, with Poltrot, with whom indeed he was wholly unacquainted. In the act committed by that person, however, he recognised the just judgment of God, menacing similar or yet greater punishments to all the confederated enemies of His Holy Gospel, who are the occasion of so many miseries and calamities to France. Then, commenting on some particular phrases which Poltrot had attributed to him, he expressed a willingness to rest his defence singly upon their manifest falsehood: for, God be thanked! he was not so ill instructed in his duty as to misapply Scripture by exhorting one who designed to commit murder, to "take up his cross even as his Saviour had taken it up;" and much less did it accord with the doctrine which he professed, to promise any man Paradise as a reward for his works.

March 12. This paper, when signed, was despatched to the queen before Poltrot's execution, with a request that he might be committed to secure custody, in order that, whenever peace, so much to be desired, should be concluded, he might be confronted with those whom he had accused; and in case this means of justification should be denied by his immediate execution, protesting against such a measure as injurious to their good repute. A letter from the admiral to Catherine accompanied their joint declaration; and it concluded with words which no man could have employed whose conscience accused him of being accessory to murder. "Never-

theless, madam, I would not have you suppose that I use these expressions out of any regret for the death of M. de Guise ; for I esteem it the greatest blessing which could have happened to this realm, and to the church of God, and especially to myself and to all my house ; and it remains with your majesty's pleasure, whether it shall not be the means of restoring tranquillity to France." It is not with so frank an avowal of undisguised satisfaction that an assassin speaks of the death of him whose murder he has privately compassed ; and Coligny's innocence of this dark crime may be fairly deduced from the sincerity with which he expresses his sense of the great advantages resulting from its commission.

The punishment adjudged to the assassin had been that of a regicide. The obsequies of the murdered duke were celebrated on the day of Poltrot's execution with regal pomp and at the public expense ; and his corpse, after a solemn service in Nôtre Dâme, was conveyed to the family sepulchre at Joinville. His high offices were partitioned between his sons, although as yet only boys ; Henry, Prince of Joinville, became grand master of the palace and governor of Champagne ; and Charles, afterward Duke de Mayenne, was invested with the dignity of grand chamberlain. Meantime the great revolution in the prospects of the Catholics, occasioned by the death of Guise and the captivity of Montmorency, had rendered them anxious for peace. Catherine and the Prince of Condé opened a preliminary correspondence, and more formal negotiations were afterward commenced between the two illustrious commanders, who were still detained prisoners. Condé at first peremptorily demanded the full restoration of the Edict of January, but the constable as peremptorily rejected the demand ; and the prince finding that all hope of attaining his wishes to their full extent was denied, ultimately agreed to a compromise. How far the appointment of lieutenant-

general, a brilliant lure which Catherine subtly held out, might dazzle his ambition and induce him to concede, could be known only to himself, and perhaps not even to himself distinctly. It was the plea, however, which he used in order to reconcile his followers to terms which disappointed their expectations; and relying, with but slight discretion, on Catherine's sincerity, he assured them that the influence which his office, when once attained, would give him with the king, rendered the ultimate gratification of their desires a matter of certainty.*

It is plain, however, that he fully anticipated the reluctance which he was to encounter in obtaining the consent of his friends to the secret terms which he had determined to accept. Before giving his final answer to Montmorency, he requested permission to hold a conference with some of the Huguenot ministers; and Desmoranges of Orleans, Pierius a Spaniard of Blois, and Roche Chandieu of Paris, were summoned accordingly. Some management,

March 8. he felt, would be requisite in communicating with these deputies; he did not venture, therefore, at once to declare the clauses of the pending treaty, but he proposed two questions for their resolution. First, was he bound to profess to the queen that, having armed in order to secure the observation of the Edict of January, he would not lay down his arms until that edict should be restored in its fullest meaning, force, and purport? Secondly, if he were altogether unable to obtain the restoration of that edict, might he accept terms proposed by the queen, provided they were consistent with liberty of conscience? It needed little sagacity on the part of the ministers to discover that Condé had resolved upon peace at all events, and that the Edict

* So early as the 5th of January, Catherine had stated, in a letter to the parliament of Paris, that she found her cousin, the Prince of Condé, *disposé à s'accommoder à la volonté du Roy et luy faire service*.—*Mém. de Condé*, iv. 19].

of January would not be restored. Far from temporizing, however, they boldly expressed their sense of the great wrong which he would do to the church by admitting any modification of that edict; and they declared that neither the queen nor himself, without offence to God and justice, could derogate, in however small a degree, from the high authority of a law, constructed, promulgated, and sworn to by a solemn assembly of the states.

The questions proposed by the prince were taken into more full consideration by March 9. a synod, consisting of seventy-two ministers, who returned a written answer to the following effect. After expressing an earnest desire for peace, if obtained on terms which they could subscribe consistently with duty, they stated those terms to be no other than the confirmation of the Edict of January, without any restrictions or modifications. They demanded that the king should declare himself protector and conservator of the confession of faith presented to him in June 1561; and then (with that remarkable blindness which has so often made dissenters from an establishment intolerant to others even when seeking toleration for themselves,) they pointed out the strong necessity of rigorous punishment being directed against all heretics and schismatics, whom they stigmatized by the names of Atheists, Libertines, Anabaptists, and Servetists. They required that the Reformed synods and consistories should be authorized by law; that their baptisms and marriages should be esteemed valid; that, in towns and villages in which they had not yet established churches, ministers might be freely admitted; that their religion, formed as it was on the ancient doctrines of the prophets and apostles, should no longer be called the new religion; that restoration should be made of all property, offices and dignities, of which any of their brethren had been deprived; and that the outrages committed against

them at Vassy, Sens, and elsewhere, should be investigated and punished.*

Notwithstanding this remonstrance, which, in order to give it greater weight, was solemnly registered, Condé did not hesitate to proceed in his negotiation. Quitting the ministers when he found them intractable, he summoned a military council, composed of the officers in garrison at Orleans; explained to them that Catherine, in case her terms were refused, was fully bent upon the storm and total ruin of that city, an attempt in which her success was not to be doubted; laid the treaty briefly before them; and obtained their consent to its completion. The single condition for which he pleaded with the queen was, that the ratification might be delayed till the return of the admiral from Normandy; he was answered by a permission to choose between an immediate signature, or an immediate assault of Orleans. On the 12th of March, therefore, he signed, and on the 19th of the same month, the king promulgated the edict of pacification, known from the town at which it was dated as the *Treaty of Amboise*.

The following were its chief provisions: 1. That all nobles holding fiefs directly from the crown† might enjoy in their own houses, with their families and such vassals as chose to resort thither, freely and without restraint, the exercise of the religion called Reformed. 2. That similar liberty should be allowed to those who held other fiefs, for themselves and their families, provided they did not inhabit towns, boroughs, or villages subject to higher jurisdiction, in which case they must obtain permission from the superior lords. 3. That in every bailliage and seneschalship having appeal to a court of parliament, a town should be set apart, in the fauxbourgs of which the said worship might be celebrated, and that no domiciliary visits should be made

* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* tom. ii. p. 280.

† *Tenans plein fief de Haubert.*

under pretext of religion. 4. That in every other town, except those above mentioned, in which the said worship shall have been practised before the seventh of the present March, one or two places should be appropriated at the king's discretion for its exercise; but that all churches which have been so employed must be restored to the Catholic priests. 5. Paris was affirmed to be "exempt from all exercise of the said religion." In the remaining clauses the Prince of Condé and all who had assisted him in the late "tumults," were declared to be good and loyal subjects, who had acted "with the best intentions for the service of the king;" and lastly, an enactment was made, which no edict, it may be thought, could be sufficiently powerful to secure; namely, that all injuries and offences which the late iniquity of the times had occasioned, should be considered dead and buried, and as if they had never existed; that no one, on peril of his life, of what state or quality soever, should reproach another for any thing that had passed, or dispute, quarrel, or argue on questions of religion; but that all men should live together as brothers and fellow-citizens.*

Five days after the proclamation of this peace, the admiral arrived at Orleans, with a larger and better appointed force than he had led in the battle of Dreux. His first disappointment was bitter, and he fiercely and indignantly denounced as ruinous a treaty which never ought to have been concluded without his participation. He forcibly displayed how far better at that moment was the condition of the Reformed than it had been at the commencement of the war. Two of the Triumvirs were dead, the third was a prisoner, and yet the terms now accepted were inferior to those offered at the outset, when the Edict

* The treaty is printed entire in the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* ii. 283. The guidance of that very useful and copious work terminates with the close of the first civil war. The XVth and last book contains a few particulars relative to the subsequent history of Metz.

of January might have been obtained for all France excepting the capital. Provision, he said, had been made for religion only among the rich; peasants occupied in ceaseless rural toil, and mechanics in the sedentary employments of trade, children, women, and aged persons could little be expected to perform a long journey to some privileged town, or to the mansion of the seigneur, for the benefit of worship; and consequently the Reformed doctrine must languish, and the great mass of the population would probably relapse into its former superstitions. In a word, he reproached the prince with having injured the church far more by a single stroke of his pen, than the Catholics could have done in ten years with all their armies.

The peace indeed was in many ways hasty and improvident. Whether Condé had been influenced by weariness of his imprisonment, by jealousy of the admiral scarcely acknowledged even in his own heart, or by the promise of the lieutenancy; or whether Catherine had entangled him in any of those nets of blandishment which she was well skilled to weave, and for the construction of which she had ever held assembled in her court a train of matchless and not over rigid beauties, is not now to be determined. Each of these motives in turn has been assigned, and be it which it may that actuated his conduct, it must be admitted that he was duped and deceived. He exposed himself to suspicions of insincerity by listening to promises which chiefly affected his own private interests; he disbanded his troops when both his ranks and his treasury had just been amply recruited; and he violated the promise which he had made to England of not treating separately, at the very moment in which he ought to have been most grateful for the promptness with which she had afforded succour.

Meantime, he surrendered himself unreservedly to the pleasures of the court; and the death of his

princess removed every check upon the libertinism to which, even in her life-time, he had been too much inclined. It was not till the honour of one lady of distinguished birth,* and the wealth of a second of large possessions,† had been sacrificed to the vain expectation of obtaining his hand, that the urgent remonstrances of the Huguenot ministers, on the scandal arising from his licentiousness, induced him to renew the nuptial bond. Undeluded by the false hope of an alliance with Mary of Scotland, which the Cardinal of Lorraine endeavoured to excite, he then selected for his consort Frances of Orleans, sister of the Duke of Longueville.‡

Havre was still occupied by the English; and Elizabeth having avowed her intention of retaining it till Calais should be surrendered according to promise, preparations were made for its immediate reduction. When the constable summoned the Earl of Warwick, who commanded the garrison, he was answered that the English were his most humble and affectionate servants; but that they would rather die than disobey the orders of their royal mistress. In this parley many recognitions took place between several brave officers now arrayed against each other in hostility, who had lately fought side by side at Rouen. "We have stood in the same ranks, under the same banner, and we have shared the same

* Isabelle de la Tour de Turenne Demoiselle de Limeuil, one of Catherine's maids of honour, is said by De Thou to have been related to her royal mistress. Notwithstanding the *accident* which occurred in the face of the whole court, (and which Bayle says, in a copious notice written *con amore*, reminds him of the bon-mot of Menage, that it is a very difficult matter for a maid of honour to keep her post,) the fair Limeuil afterward married a nobleman of Lucca, Scipio Sardini, who, by the favour of Catherine, had made his fortune in her train, and had been created Baron de Chaumont sur Loire. The history of this lady, in *all* its points, finds a strong parallel in that of *la pauvre Warmestré*, of the court of Charles II.

† The widow of the Maréchal de St. André is much less to be pitied than Mademoiselle de Limeuil. The latter was deceived by a promise of marriage. The former purchased her shame by the donation of the rich estate of Valéry.

‡ In 1561.

prison," said Leighton, an Englishman, to one of D'Andelot's lieutenants; "how is it that we are now prepared to cut each other's throats?" "Each of us," replied Monins, "obeys the commands of his sovereign. All difference of religion between Frenchmen is terminated by the late peace; and his country is no less dear to a Huguenot than to a Catholic."* The Prince of Condé himself was present in the camp; and Warwick, after a gallant defence, when his garrison was rapidly wasting under a contagious disease, and the interception of some despatches concealed from him the near approach of a powerful

July 27. succour, assented to an honourable capitulation. On the morning after it was signed, a reinforcement of one thousand eight hundred men appeared in the port. But the relief was too late; and Elizabeth, disgusted by the ingratitude of her late allies, and finding little profit in the continuance of the war, soon afterward readily negotiated a peace.†

* *Discours au vray de la reduction du Havre de Grace.*—*Mém. de Condé*, v. 35. De Thou, xxxv. 6.

† April 13, 1564.

CHAPTER VIII.

Majority of Charles IX.—The Queen of Navarre cited to Rome—Protest against the Citation by Charles IX.—Conspiracy for the abduction of the Queen of Navarre—It is frustrated—Progress of the French Court—Edict of Rousillon—Conferences at Bayonne—Vth National Synod—March of Spanish troops to the Netherlands—Levy of Swiss mercenaries for the service of France—Alarm of the Huguenots—Vith National Synod—Unsuccessful attempt to seize the King at Meaux—Letters of Pius V.—Battle of St. Denis—Death of the Constable Montmorency—The Huguenots reinforced from Germany—Treaty of Longjumeau—Continued outrages against the Huguenots—Design to surprise Condé—His escape to La Rochelle—Account of that City—Theatrical representation in it—Fierce Edicts by the King.

THE active and ambitious spirits of Condé and of Montmorency, now disengaged from civil war, were equally formidable to Catherine; and, in order effectually to preclude them from all chance of too great ascendancy, and to preserve the sovereignty to herself by nominally transferring it to her son, she boldly resolved to proclaim the king's majority. The French law had by no means positively defined the age at which a royal pupilage ceased; but a constitution of Charles V., dated in 1383, having conveniently recognised fourteen years as the epoch, and maintained it on the not very conclusive precedents of Joash, Josiah, David, Solomon, and Hezekiah,* Catherine affirmed that it was the commencement of the fourteenth year, not its completion, which was there intended. It was not without some opposition that the parliament of Paris consented to register the edict promulgated at Rouen, which thus invested Charles with the full Aug. 17. powers of royalty. The deputies, when they conveyed a remonstrance, were received with severity; the king refused to enter his capital until the dis-

* We have ventured to substitute *Hezekia* for *Hierimia*, probably an error of the press in De Thou, xxxv. 7.

Sept. 28. pute should be terminated to his satisfaction, and after some farther debate the proposition was accepted. On his first arrival in Paris, Charles was perplexed by an unforeseen application. The retainers of the late Duke of Guise, clad in mourning habits, proceeded in large numbers to the palace. At their head appeared Antoinette of Bourbon, and Anne of Este, the mother and the widow of the murdered prince ; his children followed,* and the sorrowing train was closed by many illustrious connexions of both sexes. On arrival in the presence chamber, they kneeled before the young king ; and when he hastened to raise them from their posture of supplication, they earnestly besought him to institute a close inquiry into the foul crime which had deprived their family of its head. The admiral was not, indeed, mentioned by name, but it was manifest that he was the object of attack. Charles, in answer, wisely confined himself to general assurances of sympathy, and to a promise that at a more seasonable opportunity the desired investigation should be commenced.

The Huguenot ministers took early advantage of the restoration of tranquillity to assemble a IVth national synod. The city selected was Lyons, and the meeting took place on the 10th of August ; but its proceedings were utterly unimportant, being chiefly confined to a meddling and mischievous interference on matrimonial questions, in the resolution of which the Calvinistic divines rejoiced to exhibit their casuistry.† Not many months after-

* Francis, Duke of Guise, left by his duchess three sons. Henry, who succeeded to his father's title, Charles, Duke of Mayenne, and Louis, Cardinal of Guise ; all distinguished characters in our future narrative.

† One question may afford a fair specimen of the frivolous matters occasionally submitted to grave discussion. "Chapter XVI. cases of conscience, xxxvi. A gentleman troubles the church, and wills that his wife come up immediately after him unto the Lord's table, before any of the men. And although it had been ordained by the synod of Caen, that he should follow the general practice of the

ward, the great Catholic synod, the council of Trent, closed its twenty-fifth and last sitting, after eighteen years of futile and inconclusive deliberation. It was, perhaps, on account of a bold remonstrance which the French ambassadors at that council addressed to Pius IV. in consequence of his partial adjudication of a dispute concerning precedency between them and the Spanish envoys, that the irritated pontiff offered an affront to the crown of France, which might have been dictated by the imperious spirit of Hildebrand. Not content with deposing or suspending some of the most illustrious prelates of the Gallican Church, among whom it may be sufficient to mention the Cardinal of Châtillon, brother of the admiral, and Montluc, Bishop of Valence, the apostolic council directed the cardinal inquisitors to address a penal monition and citation to the Queen of Navarre. "As it is the duty of the holy office, (was the declaration of this extraordinary instrument) to proceed against all persons suspected of heresy, so more especially should it take cognizance of any error in those who, deriving sovereign power from God, ought therefore to serve and obey Him from whom that power flows, and to acknowledge a loving mother in the church. We have learned," it continued, "by common and notorious report, and to the sorrow of our spirit, that Jeanne, Queen of Navarre and Princess of Bearne, has deviated, and every day more and more increases in deviation from the faith held, believed, taught, and preached by the Catholic Church; and we doubt not that this open and public error conduces no less to the destruction of her subjects than it does to her own eternal perdition. In order, therefore, to avert these ills and this grievous scandal, we cite the above-named queen to ap-

churches, yet, nevertheless, he will not conform thereunto. The assembly orders a letter, in their name, to be sent him, advising him to walk with more humility."

pear, not by proxy, but personally, in our court at Rome, within six months from this summons, that she may there clear herself from the above charges. And if she should fail in obedience, and contumaciously refuse to appear, we pronounce that she is excommunicated, that her children are bastardized, and that she has forfeited all her kingdoms, principalities, dominions, fiefs, estates, and other property of every kind and condition; which accordingly may be seized and occupied by any one whom his holiness or his successors shall please to confirm in their possession.”*

The Queen of Navarre, since the death of her late consort, had resided on her principality of Bearne in undisguised profession of the Reformed worship, and occupied chiefly in the education of her son. Her own means of defence were feeble, but her cause became that of crowned heads in general; excepting of the blind and bigoted King of Spain, by whom the outrage against her had no doubt been prompted. No sooner, therefore, had the above citation been affixed, according to custom, on the gates of St. Peter's and in other of the most public places in Rome, than the court of France directed a spirited protest to the conclave. Charles announced that the Queen of Navarre must be considered under his especial guardianship and protection; first, on account of proximity of blood; secondly, in respect to her royal dignity, which gave her claim to the aid of every king her brother, and demanded his resistance of an assumed authority which might some day be drawn into an evil precedent against himself. The neighbourhood of the queen's dominions to France, and her vassalage to the crown of that country for

* *Monitorium et Citatio Officii Stæ. Inquisitionis contra illustrissimam et serenissimam Dom. Joannam Albretiam Reginam Navarræ.*—*Mém. de Condé*, iv. 669. A previous correspondence between the Queen of Navarre and the Cardinal d'Armagnac, may be found in the same volume, 594. The queen's letter is an admirable specimen of that distinguished woman's great powers of mind.

many of her fiefs, were next adduced as reasons on account of which the king felt great umbrage at the citation. No Pope had hitherto asserted the power of summoning a vassal of France to Rome; and it was altogether new that the holy father should pretend to confiscate any property within the French dominions, in direct opposition to all existing concordats. For these, and many similar reasons, the king felt deeply interested in the transaction, and deemed it marvellous strange that such an attempt should have been made, at least without previous communication to him; seeing that it regarded a relative in blood, a sister in dignity, a neighbour, an ally, and a vassal. The measure, he doubted not, had proceeded from some burst of irregular passion, occasioned by the false reports, the sinister impressions, and the evil counsels of ill-advised ministers; who, for their own private interests, were endeavouring to disturb the good understanding which subsisted between his holiness and the king. But, to take far lower ground; how, it might be asked, should the Queen of Navarre become acquainted with a monition affixed at Rome? Was it not most preposterous, and contrary to every rule of justice, to summon that lady to answer for her religion, when the queens of England and of Scotland, and the Protestant princes of Germany, were left undisturbed in similar professions of faith? Above all, the king pointed out that the wounds occasioned by religious dissension, so recently healed within his own dominions, were likely to be irritated and bleed afresh, if all indulgence were denied to those who varied from the Catholic doctrine. Urged by these considerations, he earnestly appealed to the holy father, with all that devotion and observance which was justly his due, to recall and annul the offensive monition; and to take it in good part if the king should punish any of his subjects who had occasioned its issue. Otherwise he declared that if he

were compelled to resort to the measures and remedies which had been adopted on similar occurrences, however deeply he might regret the necessity, nevertheless his object was so just and honourable, that in order to compass it he would exercise the whole force and power with which God had endowed him.*

This concluding menace was effectual, and the Pope desisted. Yet the Queen of Navarre not long afterward had well nigh become the victim of a deep-laid conspiracy, planned by some of her own disaffected subjects among the Roman Catholics of Bearne. These traitors, after communicating with the King of Spain and his minister the Duke d'Alva, concerted a plan by which the queen and her two children, the Prince Henry and the Princess Catherine, might be carried off from Pau and consigned to the dungeons of the Inquisition. The negotiation had been pending more than a year when the principal agent, either struck with remorse or making an imprudent confidence during a severe illness, re-

1564 ‡. vealed its details to one who took measures

Feb. for its defeat.† A more vigilant and effective protection than the widowed queen could afford now appeared necessary for the security of her son; and the future champion of the Huguenots, having been committed to the care of governors of undoubted attachment to the Reformed principles, was removed to the court of France, in order to complete his education.§

In a progress which the king and the queen mother

* *Ibid.* 680.

† *Mémoires de Duc de Nevers*, ii. 479. *Mémoires de Villeroy* (Neufville,) ii. 39.

‡ At the suggestion of de l'Hôpital, a new style was adopted in France, in 1564, when the computation of the year commenced from Jan. 1, instead of from Easter Day.—*De Thou*, xxxvi. 19.

§ *De Thou*, xxxvi. 20. The name of Henry's tutor was La Gaucherie, who spared his pupil the trouble of learning grammar, and took the pleasanter and more royal road of talking him into languages. *Lequel tascha de luy donner quelque teinture des lettres, non par les regles de grammaire, mais par les discours et les entretiens.*—*Perefixe, Hist. du Roy Henri le Grand*, p. 22.

undertook during the spring and summer of 1564,* they remained for some time at Rousillon, in Dauphiné; a place which derives notoriety from an edict promulgated in it, explanatory, as was pretended, of the Treaty of Amboise; but in fact violating many of its conditions. The Huguenot ministers had already been prohibited from officiating any where within ten leagues of the abode of the court for the time being, and from residing in any parts of the kingdom, except those in which they were customarily allowed to preach; and no one professing the Reformed doctrines, either layman or ecclesiastic, was permitted to open a school. By the

Aug. 4.

Edict of Rousillon, the privilege which had been granted to the Huguenot nobles holding *in capite*, of celebrating worship in their *chateaux*, was restricted to their own families and their immediate tenants; if any other persons attended, the seigneur was liable to a fine of five hundred crowns for the first offence, and to confiscation of his fief for a second. The collection of money also, for any purposes whatsoever, was forbidden under threat of corporal punishment. All those of either sex who, during the late troubles had renounced their vows of chastity, and abandoning the monastic state had contracted matrimony, were peremptorily commanded either to relinquish their nuptial ties and return to the cloister, or else to quit the kingdom within two months. The galleys were denounced as the punishment for men, perpetual imprisonment for women disobedient to this harsh provision. The difficulties raised in the way of public worship by the first of these clauses, the overthrow of all church discipline by the second, and the cruel destruction of private happiness which the third must occasion, were severely felt by the Huguenots; and Condé,

* A minute journal of this progress is given in the *Voyage de Charles IX.* by Abel Jouan D'Aubais, printed in the *Pièces fugitives pour servir à l'Histoire de France* (Baschi,) i. 385.

who had retired to Valéry, the domain for which he was indebted to the infatuated passion of the Maréchal de St. André's widow, addressed, first a letter, and afterward a very pointed remonstrance to Catherine.* In the latter, he complained that, besides the infraction of the Treaty of Amboise, murder was daily committed upon Huguenots, and passed unpunished by the magistrates. More than one hundred and thirty persons were said to have fallen victims to open or secret violence. Among them was a gentleman of much distinction, both on account of his individual qualities and of his extraction; Gilbert de la Curée, a strenuous Huguenot, who had displayed great courage at Dreux, and had been rewarded by the Queen of Navarre with the government of Vendôme. He was assassinated, during a hunting match, by the treachery of some powerful Catholics. Yet, when his widow demanded inquiry, the application was coldly received at court, and the Lord of Cognée, a near relative of the deceased, being accused of some illegal step in a process instituted by him against the murderers, underwent a long and painful imprisonment, in order to strike terror into others. The king received the Prince of Condé's address with apparent friendliness, but returned a vague and unsatisfactory answer.†

1565. The court wintered in the south; and in the course of the following summer, under a pretext of neighbourhood to the Spanish dominions which afforded Catherine an opportunity, rarely to be enjoyed, of familiar intercourse with the Queen Isabelle her daughter, the royal progress was continued to Bayonne. Thither also the Duke d'Alva repaired, ostensibly as the bearer of the collar of the golden fleece to Charles. The Queen of Spain and her *cortège* were lodged in a temporary building,

* Both these documents are given in the *Mém. de Condé*, v. 201. 204.

† De Thou, xxxvi. 35, 36. Pasquier, *Lettres*, liv. iv. p. 254.

erected for the purpose, adjoining the bishop's palace, in which Catherine had fixed her abode; and a private communication between these residences afforded facility for the secret interviews of the queen mother and the Spanish minister. The days were passed in spectacles of unwonted magnificence; the nights, if we may believe the almost universal voice of contemporaries, and among them of not a few Roman Catholics, in the arrangement of plans for the destruction of the Huguenots.* The evidence of generally accredited rumour, and of the accordance of future events with its purport, however strong, is not infallibly conclusive; but we see not how, after the remarkable conversation which Henry IV. overheard, it is possible to deny that these conferences at Bayonne were directed to the formation of an alliance against the Reformed. Henry, at that time a boy only twelve years of age, was the *enfant gâté* of Catherine; so fond was she of his society that she seldom allowed him to quit her side; and whether she attended mass, or a party of pleasure, or even the king's most secret council chamber, the favoured child had the privilege of admission. On one occasion he was present at a discussion between the queen and the Duke d'Alva respecting the best mode of suppressing the new doctrine; and he especially remembered, and, as it appears, plainly understood, a figurative expression used by the unrelenting Spaniard, "that the jowl of a salmon was well worth a hundred frogs." He had sufficient prudence to conceal from the common ear the important secret

* De Thou asserts the nightly interviews between Catherine and the Duke d'Alva as a matter of undisputed fact; and that the pageants were purposely celebrated with dazzling splendour, in order to disguise the real object of the meeting. He then notices the deduction made by the Protestants—*genus hominum suspicax*—that a secret alliance was constructed at the same time. Notwithstanding this incidental sarcasm, it is plain from De Thou's concluding words, that he thought the hypothesis reasonable: *id verum necne sit, tempora quæ deinde secuta sunt, plenam fidem apud posteritatem facient.*—xxxviii. 11.

implied in these portentous words; but he communicated them at the time to one of his most confidential officers, Colignon, Chancellor of Navarre, who accompanied him to Bayonne, and by whom they have been transmitted to posterity as a damning evidence of the preconcerted bloodguiltiness of Catherine and her advisers.*

Dec. 25. The Vth national synod of the Huguenots assembled before the close of this year; and, notwithstanding the prohibition contained in the Edict of Rousillon, partly it may be supposed on account of the Prince of Condé's remonstrance, partly from the continued absence of the court, which was then at Blois, the deputies boldly met in Paris. Their proceedings were for the most part without interest. They explained and limited the dangerous powers of suspension and excommunication. They regulated the admission to the Lord's table of such persons as "notwithstanding their knowledge and profession of Gospel truth," still retained Papal benefices; and we need not say that this adjustment between God and mammon required no inconsiderable ingenuity. All promises of marriage, unless made in the presence of two witnesses at the least, if possible before the parents of the contracting parties, and in either case, "after solemn seeking of God by prayer," were declared to be null. Permission was granted for the marriage of a man with the sister of a woman to whom he had been betrothed, but who had died before the nuptials were celebrated. Children under twelve years of age were prohibited from admission to the Lord's table. And as if some unusual inroad had been attempted upon the gravity of the Calvinistic system, by unseemly attire and indulgence in the sportiveness of wit, ministers were first instructed to abstain from all gaudery in their own persons and in those of their wives and children,

* Colignon's account is given in the *Mémoires du Duc de Nevers*, ii. 577.

and to exhort their people to be modest in their habits; and secondly, all persons whom "God hath endowed with gifts and ability to write in defence of truth, were requested not to publish their thoughts in a ridiculous or injurious manner."

The king, in passing through Nerac, the principal abode of the court of Navarre, insisted upon the re-establishment of the ancient religion which had been abolished within that city, and he afterward summoned an assembly of the *notables* for the following January. The edict promulgated at Moulins by that body when it met, chiefly related to 1566. the better administration of justice, but in Feb. one of its LXXXVI clauses was included a renewal of the Edict of Rousillon. The main object of this assembly, however, was to promote and to witness a formal reconciliation between the houses of Guise and of Châtillon. For that purpose, the admiral renewed his former oath, that he had neither concerted nor been privy to the assassination of the late duke; and the declaration was accepted by the widowed duchess* and by the Cardinal of Lorraine. The young duke, Henry, who had just returned from his first campaign in Hungary, in which he had served with great promise of future distinction, was not present at this interview. Dissembling all resentment, he nevertheless avoided any decisive expression of forgiveness; and it may be believed that to the very last he entertained a conviction of the admiral's participation in his father's murder, sufficiently strong to justify in his own sight the bloody vengeance which he afterward achieved.

* The Duchess of Guise on this occasion bestowed her hand, as we have before mentioned, (p. 206, note,) on the Duc de Nemours. That alliance grievously distressed the Queen of Navarre. Made-moiselle de La Garnache, the Lady of Rohan, her first cousin, had borne a child to the duke under contract of marriage; but the Lady of Rohan was a Huguenot, and a dispensation annulling the contract was therefore easily obtained from Rome.

1657. But fresh cause of intestine discord soon arose. Philip II. had now altogether surrendered himself to the guidance of the ferocious d'Alva, and troops under the duke's command were pouring from Savoy through Franche Comté and Lorraine, for the extermination of Protestantism in the Spanish Netherlands. The approach of a foreign army to the frontiers afforded Catherine a plausible excuse for gathering an extraordinary force; she put the garrisons in a state of complete defence, assembled troops in the provinces, raised fresh national levies, and summoned six thousand mercenaries from Swisserland. It was not possible that in the existing circumstances of the kingdom, these active preparations should be viewed by the Huguenots without considerable alarm.* The concurrent marches of the Duke d'Alva and of the Swiss were believed to be the results of that scheme against the Reformed, supposed to have been framed at Bayonne; and the suspicion derived ample support from numerous other acts of the French government. The edicts favourable to the Huguenots were daily violated; the towns which they had been permitted to retain by the Treaty of Amboise were dismantled; and forts, erected within the circuit of their demolished walls, were occupied by the royal troops. The ears of the magistracy appeared deaf to any complaint tendered by a Huguenot; and the grossest outrages upon the personal liberty, the property and even the lives of the Reformed, if not openly authorized, were at least allowed to pass unpunished and even uninvestigated. It was known that frequent couriers were exchanged between the French court and Rome; little pains were taken by

* Brantome confidently affirms that the military preparations made on the approach of the Duke d'Alva were the result of Condé's advice, (*Discours*, lxxx. l. tom. vi. p. 336:) and it is very probable that the prince might see and recommend the policy of arming on that occasion. But it is quite certain that he soon discovered the real purposes to which the court intended to direct its levies.

the Catholics to repress tokens of exultation at some approaching triumph; and more than obscure warnings were given that the time was now at hand in which their hated rivals would cease to enjoy that freedom which they had recently extorted from the king. Representations of these and similar circumstances were anxiously submitted to the Prince of Condé and the admiral, by their followers. Conferences were held among the chief Huguenot leaders, both at Valéry and at Châtillon; but in all of them pacific counsels were inculcated. Nothing, it was said, was to be so much avoided as a renewal of civil war; nor was the sword to be drawn till every other remedy had proved ineffectual.*

During these agitations, the VIth synod Sept. 1. assembled at Verteuil; and the ministers, as if unmindful of the great terrors gathering around them, were occupied for the most part, as heretofore, in the discussion of subtle points of casuistry, and in regulations tending to clog the freedom of matrimonial engagements. Thus, it was resolved, that if women whose husbands upon the account of trades were a long time absent from them, should desire to be married, they must apply to the magistrates;† and that ministers were to take heed not to solemnize the marriage of widows within times forbidden by the civil law.‡ If two young persons should contract marriage foolishly and rashly, without consulting their parents or guardians, the remedy pronounced was not a little summary, "Let them be punished and chastised, and let their marriage, at the request of parents and guardians, be rescinded."§ The punishment most commonly in use appears to have been fasting, either for three whole days, "having given them but a little bread and water," or for one whole day with nothing allowed them for their nourishment. The church, it may seem, wanted either power or

* La Noue, translated by E. A. London, 1587, p. 389.

† v. 6.

‡ v. 7.

§ x. 3.

inclination to visit offences by adequate penalties; for even in the case of fraudulent traders who, "*according to the custom of the country*, do falsify, disguise, or corrupt their merchandise, as stretchers or drawers of cloth," the pain adjudged was incommensurate to the crime. They were "to be admonished by the consistory to forbear those cheats, and in case they do not desist, to be laid under censure."* The accomplishment of marriage was not to be deferred above six weeks after the promise of it; in case of farther delay the parties were to be called into the consistory and admonished, and if afterward they continued disobedient, they were to be committed to the civil magistrate, who had power to compel solemnization.† On their wedding-day parties were instructed to come "modestly to church, without drums or minstrels, demeaning themselves orderly and gravely as becometh Christians; and let them come before the bell hath done tolling, that so the marriage may be solemnly blessed before sermon, and if they be negligent, or should come too late, let them be turned away unmarried."

This officious, and in some instances fulsome and offensive inspection of the private and domestic intercourse of their flocks, the details of which we abstain on more than one account from prosecuting farther, was probably of little avail towards the general improvement of moral habits, and certainly tended to depress the standard of female delicacy. Over the public administration also of the church, the vigilance of the consistories, without doubt, was abused; and we read with surprise, and not without some diminution of gravity, their "roll of vagrants," a sort of police gazette, describing numerous unfit

* i. 4.

† "The IVth Decree, answered by Calvin for his own church at Geneva, and now adopted by the Huguenots." Laval has very justly remarked, that Quick (and Ayman has fallen into a similar error) is grossly mistaken in affirming that these decrees "were drawn up, at the desire of the fathers in the synod, by the reverend Mr. Calvin." The synod was held in 1567; Calvin died in 1564.

personages who had intruded themselves into the ministry. Thus the faithful are warned against "a certain fellow, a lean man, who hath been often taxed for having no call to the ministry, and being unordained yet preacheth." Another, "a man of mean stature, his beard waxing gray, deposed from the ministry at Usanchez by the brethren of Limoges for lying, cheatings, forgeries, roguish tricks, drunkenness, unchaste kissings, and at Pâmier for dancing and contumacy against the church, intrudes himself into all places where he can get admission to preach." A third, a Franciscan friar, who quitted and resumed his cowl at pleasure, had been deposed, because he usurped the ministry of the Gospel without call or ordination. As to his moral qualities, he had been "convicted of, and condemned for adultery, and accused also of being confederate with robbers;" in person he was "a fellow of great stature, yellow beard, and had lost two of his front teeth." Besides guarding against the above hypocrites, the churches are advised to take heed also of a "certain old, grave, and bald-headed fellow, who, though he was never called or ordained, doth nevertheless take upon him to exercise the office of a minister;" of "a little dwarfish fellow;" of one "having a great red nose, who is a mercenary and most abusive fellow;" and lastly, of one who appears to have exceeded all the rest in the degree of abhorrence which he excited, both by his partial adherence to Romish forms and his repudiation of some peculiarities of Calvinism. "John Clopet, alias Child, a wretch full of heresies, a champion for the mass, asserting its goodness; in two points only excepted, *viz.* prayers unto the saints and for the dead; maintaining that the good and bad have equal privilege to communicate in the body of Christ, as also celibacy, and praying towards the east; and that commentaries upon Scripture are needless; and that Calvin did very ill in writing of predestination; and that man may keep perfectly all

the commands of God. He is a fellow of mean stature, a yellowish beard, and speaks somewhat thick, plain in his looks, and tawny face, aged five-and-twenty."

- But we turn from these grave frivolities to a more severe and painful narrative. The peril of the Huguenots hourly increased; although the Duke d'Alva had already entered the low countries, the Swiss, whose services were no longer required as a precaution against him, far from being countermanded, continued to advance upon Paris; and when Condé sought an explanation of this warlike aspect, he received idle excuses in reply. Meantime, sure advices were received from Huguenots of rank about the court, notifying that designs were meditated against the life of the admiral and the liberty of Condé; that the Swiss were to be distributed in Paris, Orleans, and Poitiers; and that after the occupation of those cities, the tolerant edicts were to be altogether revoked.* On this intelligence, both the admiral and his brother, d'Andelot, expressed strong conviction of the necessity of immediate recourse to arms, and of anticipating the blow by which they must otherwise be destroyed. To remove the Cardinal of Lorraine from the kingdom, and to cut off the Swiss, were the avowed primary objects of the new movement. To what results it might ultimately tend was not perhaps distinctly contemplated by its authors themselves.

The little town of Rosoy en Brie was named as the place of general rendezvous; and thither accordingly, late in September, repaired the admiral, d'Andelot, La Noue, the Comte de la Rochefoucault, and about four hundred other Huguenot nobles and gentlemen. It was recollected how great an advantage had resulted to the Guises in the former war from the possession of the king's person; and the design therefore in the first instance was to surprise

* La Noue, p. 390.

and carry off Charles, while he was engaged, on the feast of St. Michael, in holding, according to announcement, a chapter of the order of that saint. The court had just removed to Meaux; and Catherine, till the very moment of the Huguenot gathering, was wholly unapprehensive of insurrection, and listened with incredulity to its first announcement. When she ascertained the alarming truth, her sole hope of escape was in temporizing till the Swiss could arrive by forced marches; and for that purpose she despatched Francis Montmorency, the constable's eldest son, to amuse Condé by inquiries respecting the objects for which he appeared in arms. The stratagem was successful, and Montmorency prolonged his conference till he received intelligence that the Swiss were close at hand. On his return, a discussion arose relative to future proceedings. The constable strenuously urged that the royal party should remain at Meaux; the town itself, he said, admitted of defence if it became necessary, and the Swiss would form a nucleus, round which a powerful army might soon be assembled. On the other hand, retreat was hazardous; for who should assure them that it could be effected without fighting? and if they fought, who could guarantee the result? Retreat also must in some degree wear the semblance of flight, which ill accorded with the royal dignity. Peace was hitherto unbroken; and till a blow should be either struck or provoked, there seemed good hope that it might still be preserved. These sound arguments, backed by the honest support of the Chancellor de l'Hôpital,* might have prevailed but for the opposition of the Cardinal of Lorraine. To his restless spirit, peace offered but few attractions; and his turbulent ambition pictured to itself hopes

* When de l'Hôpital advised the dismissal of the Swiss, Catherine asked whether in that case he would answer for the peaceable intentions of the Huguenots? His reply was pointed. "*Oui, Madame, si on m'assure qu'on ne les veuille pas tromper.*"—*Mémoires de Bouillon*, p. 13, cited by Anquetil. *L'Esprit de la Ligue*, tom. i. liv. iii. p. 248.

of aggrandizement for his nephews in the renewal of civil dissension.*

It was resolved, therefore, to move at once for Paris, a distance of somewhat more than thirty miles, on the following night. The Swiss had rested but three hours after their hurried march, yet they were all at their posts by midnight; not a courtier, writes Castelnau, who shared in the peril, had armour, and the greater number were mounted on but sorry hackneys.† Ill prepared as they were, however, nine hundred horsemen of gentle blood sur-

rounded the persons of Catherine, the king, Sept. 28. and the ladies of the court;‡ and at day-break, when they had advanced about four leagues from Meaux, they were encountered by the Huguenots in array. Some skirmishing ensued; and when the Swiss seemed hot for battle, and had grounded their shields, which with them was the first movement preparatory to combat, it was thought advisable that the king should draw off with a strong detachment, and proceed through byways with all speed to the capital; Montmorency engaging, meanwhile, to make head against the enemy. Two hundred chosen horse formed the royal escort, and Charles, exhausted by hunger and wearied by a journey undoubtedly perilous, and which might be considered long, according to the rate of travelling in those days, arrived at Paris towards evening. But even his night was not to be given to repose. The Huguenots, on perceiving that the king had withdrawn, did not long continue their skirmishing with

* Davila attributes the decision of the council to the earnest application of Col. Pfiser, of Lucerne, who commanded the Swiss. —Vol. i. lib. iv. p. 177. It is most improbable that such a cabinet as that of Catherine de Medicis would suffer itself to be led by the advice of a foreign soldier.

† *Mémoires*, vi. 5, where the whole account is most vividly given. Castelnau was the first person who obtained positive information of the Huguenot project, and he was exposed to much obloquy before he could obtain credit for his announcement of it.

‡ *Con tutte le Donne della Corte*. Davila, vol. i. lib. iv. p. 178, and so Castelnau, *ut sup.*

Montmorency, and the two parties separated at Bouget after small loss on either side. A few stragglers, however, advancing on Paris in the dark, fired some windmills close to the walls, and the garrison, alarmed by the flames, beat to arms under expectation of an assault.* The Cardinal of Lorraine, who had directed his steps to Rheims, was surprised on his route by a party of Champagners, who intercepted his baggage and would have captured its owner also, but for the fleetness of the Spanish genet upon which he fortunately happened to be mounted.†

This enterprise of the Huguenots appears to have been rashly planned and feebly executed. Nothing short of complete triumph could justify so hazardous an attempt; and by its failure they brought upon themselves the obloquy of treason, a name which, if they had been successful, no one would have dared to attach to their boldness. Their previous wrongs and sufferings were little remembered; and it was easy for their enemies to represent that, in the midst of profound peace, they had risen in arms against their sovereign, and had treacherously endeavoured to despoil him of his liberty, perhaps of his crown. The insult was never forgotten by the sullen and vindictive temper of Charles; and those who trace his subsequent atrocious deeds of blood to a remembrance of this single day, may not, perhaps, have erroneously calculated its effects. Pius V., who in the commencement of the year had been elected to the tiara, and who was eagerly engaged in opposition to the Reformed, seized the opportunity afforded him of stimulating the neighbouring princes to co-operate for the extermination of the Huguenots. He wrote to the King of Spain, informing him of the "conspiracy," or, more properly, the "rebel-

* Pasquier, *Lettres*, vol. i. liv. iv. p. 273, where he states that Charles, on his arrival, was, as we have described him above, *grandement harassé de la faim et de la longue traite*.

† De Thou, xlii. 2.

lion," which had occurred in France, and he despatched a special internuncio to require his aid for its suppression. Priuli, Doge of Venice; Gonzaga, of Mantua, who had married the Duchess of Nevers, and was thus in possession of the great fiefs of that house; and Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, were solicited in like manner; and although the treasury of the vatican was almost exhausted by sums advanced in assisting the emperor and the knights of Malta against the Turks, and Mary of Scotland against her rebellious subjects, a subsidy of ten thousand ducats was paid to the Duke of Savoy, to furnish him with necessary equipments, and a considerable sum was forwarded to the Cardinal of Lorraine for general purposes.*

No sooner had the king entered Paris, than the Huguenots, spreading themselves over the adjoining districts, blockaded the chief roads from Normandy, Le Perche, Mayne and Anjou; and by intercepting all convoys, reduced the capital to great distress. The constable, although far from relaxing in his enmity against the Reformed, and continuing to affirm that the Treaty of Amboise was to be considered as only provisional, cordially and sincerely desired reconciliation. But his efforts were altogether ineffectual, for neither party manifested any willingness to concede; and since the populace of the capital, now straitened for supplies and impatient under privations, began to impute his pacific labours to want of courage or of fidelity, he was compelled, in spite of his reluctance, to commence more active operations. His first object was to dislodge the Huguenots from the important post of St. Denis, in which Condé had entrenched himself and fixed his head-quarters; and the disproportionate force which it was in their power to oppose, led him

* Pius V. *Epist.* lib. i. ep. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26. The honourable courtship by Gonzaga of Mantua, of Enrica of Cleves, sister of the Duke of Nevers, killed at the battle of Dreux, is related by Davila at the end of his III^d book.

to expect little serious resistance. In his own ranks he counted sixteen thousand infantry and three thousand men at arms; exclusive of the civic militia, upon which, however, he placed little reliance. The Huguenots, on the other hand, in the absence of a corps of five hundred horse and eight hundred harquebuziers, detached under D'Andelot, mustered no more than twelve hundred infantry and fifteen hundred horse; most of these also were but half armed; and, in order to supply the want of lances, they had shod with iron heads the poles found supporting some booths at a late fair held in St. Denis. Well might the citizens of Paris inquire from their leaders how it was that "an ant was allowed to besiege an elephant?"*

It was, perhaps, however, this very inequality of numbers, which, in addition to his hope of avoiding hostilities altogether, had induced the constable to be tardy in his movements. Little, indeed, could he suppose that commanders so experienced as Condé and the admiral, would venture to the forward position which they occupied without certainty of strong support; and the rashness with which they acted was in this respect their best security. On the 9th of November, the constable beat up their quarters, and harassed them through the day with skirmishes, in order correctly to ascertain their force and position; and on the following morning, when Nov. 10. he issued from the gates of Paris, with his whole army, turning to the bystanders, and reminding them of the murmurs of the rabble, which appear to have impressed him far too deeply, "This day," he said, "shall free me from the taunts of my enemies and the suspicions of the people; for my return shall be in triumph, if alive; or if a corpse, after a death of glory in the moment of victory!" The words, as we shall perceive, were ominously spoken. After many hours occupied in previous dispositions,

* La Noue, p. 396.

when evening was already at hand, the Huguenots, to his surprise, not content with awaiting his onset, boldly advanced to the charge;* and being wholly unprovided with artillery, after receiving a few volleys from the royal cannon,† they pressed on, hand to hand, and joined in close engagement. In the confused and almost wholly personal conflict which ensued and lasted for nearly an hour, all the chiefs were at times exposed to imminent danger. The Prince of Condé had his horse killed under him, and was extricated with difficulty from the *mêlée*. When the bridle of a fiery Arab, upon which the admiral was mounted, had been cut through, the affrighted animal, taking the bit in his mouth, carried his master into the heart of a troop of royalists flying from the field, through which he dashed without being recognised. Each army was partially routed; the loss of each was nearly equal, and chiefly in cavalry, of which about seven hundred were killed between them; and if the Huguenots had not fallen back upon St. Denis, which they regained in good order, while their opponents continued to occupy the field, the victory might have been doubtful even in name. The title of success which the laws of war adjudged to the royalists, was dearly purchased by the loss of their commander. It was upon the division led by the constable himself that the main efforts of the Huguenots had been directed; and the gallant veteran, unbent by the burden of nearly eighty winters, evinced an activity and prowess not surpassed by the youngest soldier in his ranks. Wounded in four places, and abandoned by his followers, he still continued to fight; and had just cut down one of his

* Davila assigns good reasons for the determination of the Huguenots to give battle; they could not retreat without fighting; the very existence of their army depended upon the maintenance of confidence; and the day was so far advanced that even if they should be beaten, they ran little hazard of being pursued.—Vol. i. lib. iv. p. 185.

† *Post trium aut quatuor dispositionum vices*.—De Thou, xlii. 8.

assailants, when a Scotch partisan of the Huguenots, Robert Stuart by name, pressed him to surrender, and demanded his sword. The constable indignantly replied by dashing its hilt in the face of his enemy so violently as to beat out three of his teeth, and the Scot, irritated by the blow, discharged a pistol through his body.* The wound was mortal, for Montmorency's advanced age did not permit him to bear the weight of a cuirass of sufficient proof.† His anxious request, on falling, was that he might be allowed to die on the field, but he was disengaged from the press around him, and carried into Paris, where he expired two days afterward. His known valour and great military skill had seldom been requited by proportionate success; and in the seven pitched battles,‡ in which he had been present, (in three of them as commander) fortune, for the most part, had shown herself adverse. His political experience and sagacity, and his profound knowledge of mankind, are the general theme of contemporary praise; and the chief fault attributed to him is one arising from intimate acquaintance with courts,—a somewhat undue regard to his own private interests. Davila relates a noble anecdote which no incident of

* *Sive Stuartus ipse, sive alius de turbá.* De Thou, *ibid.* Brantome (v. 406,) and Davila (i. iv. 186,) say the blow was given by the constable *after* he had received the shot. Robert Stuart is noticed by De Thou only as *quidam Scotus*; the writer of the *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* speaks of him as *un gentilhomme Ecossois*, who gave himself out to be a connexion of his queen, Mary. He had been arrested at the time of the assassination of the president Minart, and put to the question without any criminatory fact being elicited. At the time of the conspiracy of Amboise he was imprisoned, and terrified the Cardinal of Lorraine by a threatening letter after his escape. During the 1st civil war, in 1562, he was most severely wounded while serving under the Prince of Condé, having received from a cannon-ball *un coup le plus grand qu'homme receut jamais sans mourir, au dedans de la cuisse; dont toutesfois il guerit si bien que depuis mesmes il n'en clochoit point: Dieu le reservant pour d'autres affaires* (id. ii. 194.) These *autres affaires* no doubt mean the death of the constable. Of Stuart's own catastrophe we shall have occasion to speak presently.

† Brantome, *Discours*, lxii. tom. v. p. 406.

‡ Ravenna, Marignano, Bicoque, Pavia, St. Quentin, Dreux, and St. Denis.

the constable's past life authorizes us to reject ; and which all, who value memorials of the more elevated portions of human nature, would most unwillingly abandon. Undisturbed in spirit, and with tokens of the uttermost constancy, Montmorency felt his last agonies approaching ; and when a priest offered some common-place consolation, he turned to him with a placid and serene expression of countenance, requesting his silence. " Ill, indeed," he remarked, " should I have spent my fourscore years of life, if I had not learned to die for a quarter of an hour ! " *

The death of Montmorency was viewed with satisfaction by Catherine, for it relieved her from an observant and powerful monitor, to whose authority she had often been compelled to defer. Even if she wept, as Brantome would persuade us, † her tears, as we have more than once before perceived, were not always the key to her real feelings. His obsequies were conducted with much solemnity ; and as a mark of especial honour, his effigy was borne upon his hearse ; a distinction which custom had reserved for members of the blood royal. The office of constable was not filled up ; either because there was not any individual whom it seemed discreet to intrust

* The spirit in which Laval has received this anecdote is eminently uncharitable ; and however copiously he may have gleaned from his authorities, he is a writer far too prejudiced to deserve confidence when he attempts a deduction. " Davila admires this ; but, if it is true that the constable had ever uttered such words, which I question much, they show, methinks, either that the friar had nothing but some of his old tales of purgatory to tell him, or that the constable was very sorry to die." In a note he continues, " What makes me to question this account of Davila is, that he makes the constable say that he lived eighty years ; now it is certain that he was but seventy-four, according to his epitaph, and he could not mistake himself so far in the reckoning of his age."—(*Hist. of the Ref. in France*, vol. iii. book v. p. 197.) It may be remarked, that Laval does not cite the epitaph upon which he relies ; that Davila probably spoke in round numbers ; that De Thou says Montmorency was *paulo minor octogenarius* (xl.ii. 8,) Brantome, *c'estoit en sa quatre vingtiesme année* (*Disc. lxii. tom. v. p. 405,*) and Castelnau, who gives the lowest computation, says, *soixante et dix-huite* (vi. 7.)

† *La Reyne Mere le regretta fort, et le pleura fort, car elle l'aymoit.*—*Disc. lxii. tom. v. p. 424,*

with a dignity conferring so great power; or more probably, because Catherine did not choose that the authority of her second and favourite son, the Duke of Anjou, for whom she obtained the post of lieutenant-general, should be shared with any rival. The extreme youth of that prince made a council requisite for his assistance; but its members were carefully selected from persons of whose compliance with her will the queen mother felt assured.*

We need not detail the military operations of the next few months. The Huguenots, satisfied with the reputation of having withstood the royal army, notwithstanding their own great inferiority in numbers, fell back from St. Denis upon Lorraine; and there awaited a junction with nearly seven thousand reistres and three hundred lansquenets, whom the Elector Palatine had despatched to their assistance, under his son, Prince Casimir. During a few days of anxious suspense before the arrival of this expected reinforcement, the confidence of the Huguenot army appears to have failed; and their drooping hopes were raised and their mutinous clamours silenced by the opposite qualities of their two generals. Condé cheered his followers by sprightly and light-hearted sallies; the severe disposition of the admiral enforced discipline by grave admonition.† Even, however, when the much-desired auxiliaries were at hand, new difficulties were to be encountered; and the provision of one hundred thousand crowns, which had been promised to the German soldiery, far exceeded the scanty resources of the Huguenot military chest, scarcely competent to supply the daily necessities of its own army. The

* Charles is reported to have said, "Young as I am, I am strong enough to carry my own sword."—Brantome, *Discours*, lxxxviii. tom. vii. p. 199. He may have been tutored to use those words, but the abeyance of the dignity of constable is far more likely to have arisen from Catherine's astute policy than from any chivalrous feeling on the part of her son.

† La Noue, p. 402.

prince and Coligny, however, contributed their plate and jewels; and their example and the exhortations of the ministers who always accompanied the march prevailed so greatly, that every officer and man made some personal sacrifice, and even the meanest horse-boy and camp-follower in the host emulously threw in his mite to the general fund. Casimir, who had embarked in the enterprise from a deep religious impulse, lent his ready aid to mitigate the disappointment of his more mercenary comrades; and a distribution of thirty thousand crowns, the utmost sum which could be raised, for awhile satisfied their rapacity.

1568. Encouraged by this large addition to his force, and by the declaration of many important towns in his favour, Condé early in the following year once again advanced from Lorraine, and, having crossed the Marne and Seine without opposition, proceeded to invest Chartres; a city, the occupation of which was considered desirable before a transfer of the seat of war to the immediate neighbourhood of Paris. But notwithstanding his present success, and his apparent increase of strength, he must have perceived that the foundation upon which he rested for the future was altogether insecure. He was deficient both in stores and in money to procure them; the battering train with which he ventured to commence the siege of Chartres was composed of no more than five field-pieces, and four light culverins;* upon the Germans little reliance could be placed without regularity of pay; so hasty had been the original rising that no preparation for the subsistence of an army could be arranged, and it was plain that if supplies were wanting, desertion would rapidly thin the ranks of the Huguenot soldiery; even the gentry also were kept together with difficulty, and manifested a strong inclination to return to their families and estates, which were exposed to outrage

* La Noue, p. 407.

during their absence. The court was ready to negotiate; and, however little confidence was to be placed in its sincerity; however slight the pains taken to conceal that the attempt upon Meaux was not forgotten, and should some day be revenged; whatever private intimations were received that no terms would be honestly observed; nevertheless, in the choice of evils which presented itself, the chances of a hollow peace appeared preferable to the continuance of a war thus certainly destructive. No question was likely to arise regarding conditions which one party had previously resolved at all events to violate; the conferences, therefore, were brought to a rapid conclusion; and the admiral with just foreboding of ill, Condé with more sanguine hope of good, affixed their signatures on the 23d of March, to the Treaty of Longjumeau.* Its chief stipulations provided for a general amnesty; a renewal of the Edict of Amboise in its literal tenor; the restoration of all towns and fortified places occupied by the Huguenots; and the dismissal of all foreign troops engaged on both sides, after their arrears of pay had been discharged by the king.

The messenger whom Charles selected to announce the conclusion of this peace to the parliament of Toulouse, and to demand its registry, was a gentleman in the Prince of Condé's suite, Rapin by name. Some active services which he had before performed in Languedoc rendered him unpopular among the Toulousians; and their magistrates, disregarding the sacredness of his diplomatic character, and the royal authority under which he acted, arrested him on some unjust pretext and delivered him to the executioner. Scarcely had the new treaty been promulgated before a similar thirst for blood and equal disregard for good faith manifested itself in almost every province of the kingdom. In the capital, the pulpits

* A small town in the modern department of La Seine et Oise, twelve miles S. E. from Versailles.

re-echoed with wild and vehement declamations, not against the doctrines only but the persons also of the Reformed ; and the recently-established order of Jesuits then first especially inculcated those perverse applications of Scripture, and those subtle ethical distinctions which have ever since formed the marked characteristics of its disciples. Besides affirming the decree of the council of Constance, that faith was not to be kept with heretics, their preachers cited Holy Writ abundantly in evidence that persecution was an acceptable offering to Heaven. They spoke of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram ; of those whose slaughter was commanded by Moses and the Levites ; of the punishment of the worshippers of the golden calf, and of Jehu who cut off the priests of Baal by stratagem ; and each of these histories was interpreted as a precedent against seceders from the church of Rome. Thus roused to fury, the populace in many districts perpetrated acts of blood and violence ; at Amiens more than a hundred Huguenots perished in a tumult ; on the restoration of Auxerre to the royalists, a massacre of the Reformed commenced, and a hundred and fifty corpses were thrown into the sewers and the river. Rouen, Bourges, Issoudun, Troyes, Blois, and Orleans, witnessed outrages which terminated in wholesale murder ; and even in other places, in which not more than single lives were sacrificed, it seemed as if the increased atrocity which accompanied the deed was designed as an atonement for the paucity of victims. Thus, at Ligny, a Huguenot who sought refuge from his pursuers in the house of the mayor, was killed in the very arms of the magistrate from whom he claimed protection. At Clermont, also, a townsman who had neglected to decorate his windows with tapestry, and to display other marks of reverence on a festival during which the host was paraded through the streets, was dragged to the market place, and burned on a pile hastily formed

from the timber of his own house pulled down for the destruction of its master. It was calculated (perhaps with exaggeration, but when *such* an exaggeration was hazarded the numbers must have been terrifically great,) that, within three months after the Treaty of Longjumeau, more than ten thousand Huguenots fell by assassination; although during the preceding six months of war scarcely five hundred had perished in battle.* It need not be asked why the court had been prompt to treat; for who would have recourse to the doubtful issue of open hostility when vengeance could be thus far more securely and abundantly gratified under the semblance of peace?

The dismissal of the good and wise de l'Hôpital from the chancellorship,† through the intrigues of the Cardinal of Lorraine, deprived the Huguenots of their sole advocate in the royal council. From that moment, indeed, all disguise appears to have been thrown aside. The admiral and Condé could no longer disregard the rumours which they hourly heard of intentions against their persons; a spy was detected by the prince surveying the works of the castle at Noyers, in which he had fixed his residence; and at length an intercepted despatch removed every doubt of the intended treachery. The charge of arresting the prince had been committed to the Maréchal de Tavannes, deputy governor of Burgundy, who is said to have been the original author of the design; and his measures had been so fully taken, that nothing more than an increase of force was needed to ensure his success. The letter which he wrote to obtain more troops was couched in figurative language, but language the interpretation of which could be little dubious, "The stag is in the toils, make haste and advance your people."‡

* De Thou, xliv. 8.

† The name of *Politiques* was given to those who, with l'Hôpital, wished for temperate measures.

‡ Brantome, *Discours*, lxxxii. 5. tom. vi. p. 474.

This despatch fell into the hands of one of Condé's patrols, and the miscarriage is believed to have been intentional. Not, indeed, out of any good will on the part of Tavannes either to Condé personally or to the Huguenots at large ; but from a suspicion that the enterprise was not quite certain, and a wish to stand well with that party which might eventually predominate. The chances were infinitely against the escape of the prince, even after the plot had been revealed to him ; but if he *did* escape, and should ultimately prove successful, Tavannes might claim the merit of having given him the earliest advice of his danger.*

If the Huguenots valued their liberty, not a moment was now to be lost in retiring upon some fortified town, strong enough to permit defence. The admiral, already warned by Condé, had joined him at Noyers, and La Rochelle was the city in which they determined to seek refuge. The attempt was hazardous in the extreme. Between Noyers, in Burgundy, and La Rochelle, on the Bay of Biscay, almost the whole extent of France from west to east was to be traversed ; and the intervening two hundred and fifty leagues were thickly beset with enemies. Condé's princess was far advanced in pregnancy ; three of his children were still in arms ; an equally helpless train accompanied the admiral and the wife of d'Andelot, his brother, who was engaged in another district ; and no larger escort could be provided than one hundred and fifty men at arms. But on this, as on former occasions, the very rashness of the enterprise proved its chief cause of success ; for the royalist troops gathered round Noyers in readiness for its surprise, giving tardy credence to the improbable announcement that Condé had departed with so slight an attendance, thus afforded

* This double treachery of Tavannes is examined and believed by Le Laboureur, in his *Additions aux Mem. de Castelnau*, liv. vi. p. 520 ; vii. 570.

him time, by which he gained largely in advance of their pursuit. When they afterward taunted him with pusillanimity for his abandonment of home, and maintained that his suspicions had been fanciful, he quietly replied, "that the birds by quitting their nests had saved themselves from a cage."* His first great peril was encountered after fording the Loire, near Sancerre. Scarcely had he reached the farther bank before the troops of Burgundy appeared in view; and feeling sure of their prey on the following morning, halted for the night at St. Godon. The delay of that single night, however, preserved the fugitives; for at day-break the river was so swollen and flooded as to be no longer passable, even by boats; and the prince and his company advanced peaceably on their route in the sight of their disappointed pursuers, thus wholly deprived of any power of molestation.†

When he entered Poitou, the governor, perhaps not unfriendly to his purpose, refused the pressing application of some zealous Catholics that he would obstruct his farther journey, pleading that he had not received orders to that effect. It was more difficult to elude the vigilance of one little likely to relax in hostility, Blaise de Montluc, who had put in motion the forces under his command in Guyenne; but after four-and-twenty days of unceasing anxiety and hourly danger, Condé at last arrived in La Rochelle, with a retinue largely increased Sept. 18. during his progress. Shortly afterward he was joined by the Queen of Navarre, with her children and an

* La Noue, p. 412.

† We have not been able to trace Laval's authority for stating that Condé's attendants, whom this deliverance forcibly reminded of the Israelitish passage of the Red Sea, fell upon their knees, and, after giving thanks, sang the CXIVth Psalm. But the story is probable; it is characteristic both of the times and of the sect; and under similar circumstances, a like burst of feeling would, perhaps, have been exhibited by the Cameronians. The parallel of the Red Sea was certainly employed by a Rochellois orator, in a speech of congratulation which he addressed to Condé on his arrival.

armed force of nearly four thousand men. The words addressed by her son Henry in reply to the set speech with which he was received by one of the civic orators, deserves remembrance; for their promise was amply verified in the great part which he who delivered them enacted in after life. "I have not yet studied enough," was his answer, "to speak as well as you do, gentlemen; but I assure you that if I *speak* but ill, I will *do* better; for I know more of acting than of talking."* Of the admiral's brothers, d'Anselot was actively engaged in raising levies in Britany; Odet, Cardinal of Châtillon, compelled to fly from his estate in Beauvais, and unable to penetrate to La Rochelle, found means of embarking for England, where he rendered good service to his party by representations to the court of Queen Elizabeth. Of this prelate's character De Thou has spoken with no ordinary praise; he describes him in one place, as a man whose naturally good disposition had remained pure amid the corruptions of the court; in another, as one who, in greatness of spirit, candour, fidelity, and sound judgment, had few rivals.† At a subsequent period he was employed in negotiating the projected marriage between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou; and while preparing to return to France, he died at Hampton court, in his fiftieth year, on the 14th of February, 1571. His remains were deposited in the cathedral at Canterbury, in a tomb little worthy either of the rank and virtues of the deceased, or of the splendid monuments by which it is surrounded; and it having afterward been ascertained that he had been poisoned by his valet, the assassin was seized and executed at La Rochelle.

La Rochelle had been selected as the place of

* Ancere, *Hist. de la Rochelle*, i. 369. A few days afterward, Henry nearly lost his life by falling off the mole into the sea. He was saved by a mariner, who leaped after him.—*Id. Ibid.*

† x. 6. l. 13.

gathering, on account both of its favourable site, and of its staunch adherence to the Reformed doctrine. So early as the year 1534, we read of a female martyr in Poitou, who had derived her knowledge of the Gospel from that city,* and about eighteen years afterward some cruel executions occurred within its walls. No regular church, however, is believed to have existed in it till 1558, when a permanent establishment was founded under the care of Richer, one of the ministers who had accompanied Villegagnon's expedition to Brazil.† It was in that year also that a visit of the King and Queen of Navarre was distinguished by a theatrical representation not unlike the comedy which we have already mentioned as exhibited at an earlier date before Francis I. The court and a numerous audience were present, and when the curtain rose, a sick woman was discovered lying at the point of death, and earnestly entreating to be confessed. For that purpose, she was attended first by the parish priest; and afterward by friars, "black, white, and gray," Carmelites, Dominicans, and Franciscans, who prodigally exhibited their beads and relics, read indulgencies in her ear, and at last put upon her "the weeds of Dominick," as a sure passport to Paradise. But their spiritual labours were wholly ineffectual; the dying woman still called for shrift, and in tones of desperation declared that, without more powerful aid, her condition was hopeless. One of her acquaintance then stealthily approached the bed, and in a low murmur, as if afraid of being overheard, whispered that she knew a person who could tranquilize her wounded conscience, but who seldom stirred abroad unless by night. The woman earnestly requested his presence; and accordingly, a man in a lay dress entered. Their conversation was not overheard; but the sick person expressed great pleasure by her gestures, and received from him at parting a small book, which he

* *Hist. des Egl. Ref.* i. 23. † *Ancere*, i. 332.

assured her was a specific for her disease. No sooner had he quitted the stage than the woman arose from her bed, announced her entire recovery, and attributed it altogether to the wonder-working volume which she held in her hands. "This little book," she added, "shall be lent to any one who requires it; but I must forewarn you that it may be hot in handling, and that it smells somewhat of the faggot. For the rest, if you ask either *my* name, or the name of the book, I must leave both of them as riddles for your conjecture." The court of Navarre was far better pleased with this allegory, than were the ecclesiastics of La Rochelle; and the comedians, notwithstanding the protection of royalty, found it prudent to quit the city with speed. The Calvinistic minister, by whom this anecdote is preserved, cannot at first subdue his sturdy prejudice against the abomination of stage plays; but in the end, his spirit appears to become softened by a recollection of the object at which the satire was directed; and he relents into an unwilling approval which might have been sanctioned even by our own Prynne. "God, who is an admirable workman, and who gave an ass language for the reproof of a prophet, permitted the theatre to speak in this instance when the pulpits were silent; so that those who by profession were teachers of folly, were now in some sort permitted to enunciate truth."*

The Rochellois had manifested but little zeal in behalf of Condé, during the first civil war; they contributed sixteen hundred livres per month to his service, but they refused connexion with the general association of the Reformed Churches. On the commencement of the second troubles, however, they immediately declared in his favour; and at the conclusion of the late peace, they refused to admit

* Vincent, *Recherches sur les commencemens de la Reformation à la Rochelle*, cited by Ancere, i. 333. A similar account of this comedy is given by Laval (i. 151.) from the same source.

a royal garrison, and steadily maintained their independence, notwithstanding menaces of punishment, and even the positive march of troops for their reduction. Their city, of very ancient origin, possessed several privileges and immunities; and a right of electing their own magistrates, and an exemption from resident military control had kindled among them an unextinguishable spirit of freedom. The population of about eighteen thousand persons was supported partly by the extensive commerce of their advantageous port, partly by the rich produce of the adjoining country; and this capital, as it may henceforward be deemed, of the Huguenot party, appeared to increase in wealth and strength, amid the desolation which continued to waste most of the other parts of France.

Condé, having reviewed his forces, addressed them on the lamentable state of their country; spoke of the king as still in captivity, and as the unwilling agent of wicked counsels; denounced the Cardinal of Lorraine by name as the chief author of the existing troubles; expressed profound sorrow for the necessity of a new recourse to arms; and proposed an oath of fidelity to THE CAUSE, (as the Huguenot interests were now named,*) which was adopted by acclamation. To the manifesto which he issued in conformity with this speech, the court at first replied by a proclamation of unusual gentleness. No distinction, it was said, should be made by the king between any of his subjects; and Protestants and Catholics might rely, with equal confidence, upon his tender and paternal care. All that was required from the former was pacific conduct and obedience to the laws. Their appeals should receive prompt attention, and all magistrates were strictly enjoined

* LA CAUSE. *Mot qui est insinuée entr'eux par une forme de République populaire, pour monstre qu'en cette querelle chacun devoit contribuer comme y ayant, le petit en son endroit pareille part que le plus grand: et à peu dire que c'est la Cause commune d'eux tous en general qu'en particulier.*
—Pasquier. *Lettres*, liv. v. p. 235.

to redress any grievances submitted to their investigation. A declaration so utterly belied by the former conduct of those who promulgated it was little likely to obtain credit; and as the snare failed, and the Huguenots continued firm, an edict, more according with the real temper and designs of the court, was issued about the close of September. After eulogizing the clemency and wisdom of the late reigns, and declaring that the present king had framed the Edict of January in a similar policy, as a temporary provision till the attainment of his majority, it recounted the perfidy and violence of the Huguenots in the former two wars; and especially noticed their treacherous retention of Montauban, Castres, and La Rochelle, since the conclusion of the late peace. As the sole remedy now left, it forbade, by a perpetual and irrevocable ordinance, all persons, of every condition throughout the whole kingdom, from professing any other than the Catholic faith: the religion of the king, as it had been that of his ancestors. The penalties annexed to a breach of this enactment were confiscation and death; and no more than fifteen days were allowed for the departure of every minister of the pretended Reformation beyond the boundaries of France. The sole mitigation granted was, that no one should be visited for a former profession of Huguenotism, provided he conformed in future to the church of Rome. A third edict deprived all Huguenots of their dignities, magistracies, and public offices; and the parliament of Paris, as if to aggravate the fury of these new statutes, framed an oath, to be taken by every one on his acceptance of public employments, that he would live and die in the Catholic and apostolic faith; and that, if he should ever apostatize from it, he would submit to degradation for his unworthiness. Such were the fierce notes which preluded the renewal of hostilities.

CHAPTER IX.

Battle of Bassac or Jarnac—Death of Condé—Letters of Pius V.—Henry of Bearn declared Protector of the Huguenots—Battle of Moncontour—Capture of Nismes—Treaty of St. Germain—VIIIth National Synod—Favourable treatment of the Huguenots—The Cross of Gastines..

THE forces on each side were nearly equal, and those of the Huguenots were far more numerous than during the former war. When Condé united his whole army at Aubeterre, he counted twenty-five thousand foot and three thousand horse; the royalists had about one thousand less of the former, one thousand more of the latter. Notwithstanding the severity of the winter, the Huguenots persisted in fruitless attempts to bring on an engagement, which the Duke of Anjou constantly declined. The Queen of Navarre was indefatigable in her exertions; and, chiefly on her account, and through the representations of the Cardinal of Châtillon, the court of England furnished arms and money, and hospitably entertained the numerous unhappy fugitives chased by persecution from the shores of Britany, Normandy, and Picardy. Elizabeth granted her protection also to a squadron which had been equipped at La Rochelle; and empowered it to cruise in the British Channel, with an assurance that the produce of all captures should be applied to the service of THE CAUSE.

It was not till the following March that any decisive military operation took place, and the ^{1569.} two armies then met on the banks of the Charente. The Duke of Anjou had been largely reinforced, and, aware that Condé was awaiting a powerful detachment of German auxiliaries, he determined to anticipate its arrival by an immediate attack. For that purpose it was necessary that the Charente should be passed; but of its two bridges, one at Jarnac was

in possession of the Huguenots; the other at Chateaufort had been partially destroyed. The remains of the latter, however, being inadequately guarded, were repaired during the night, and crossed by the royalists on the morning of the 13th of March, before the admiral, who commanded the Huguenot vanguard, could assemble his divisions, which were scattered widely over the neighbourhood. His intention, when he learned the advance of the royalists, was to fall back upon the village of Bassac; but the tardy movements of some of his corps brought on a skirmish with his rear, which soon increased to a general battle. Bassac was stoutly defended; but the royalists, who at first were driven back with much loss, at length carried and maintained it. When this reverse was announced to Condé, who being posted at some short distance had not hitherto been engaged, the brave prince was ill-circumstanced to afford assistance. In consequence of some previous hurt, he had entered the field with his arm supported in a sling, and as he rode along his lines, a severe kick from a mettlesome horse belonging to the Comte de la Rochefoucault shattered one of his legs in his boot. Concealing all sense of pain, and without changing the easiness of his tone and manner, he took this opportunity of inculcating a military lesson. "Gentlemen," he said, "bear in mind that fiery horses do more harm than good in action; and that it is but a silly vanity to pique ourselves on their management, and so to distract that attention which ought to be directed altogether on the enemy—you may here see an unlucky proof of my doctrine, which however will not hinder me from fighting." Then waving his sword, he added with greater fervour, "Nobles of France, know that the Prince of Condé with a broken leg and his arm in a scarf has yet courage to give battle."* After these

* The above speech is taken from *Le Laboureur. Add. aux Mém. de Castelnau*, vii. 4. tom. ii. p. 610, where the words used by Condé

words he rode briskly to the admiral's assistance; and charging with scarcely three hundred men at arms, he found himself unexpectedly opposed to the main body of the royalists. Surrounded, his horse killed under him, and himself disabled by his recent hurts, he beckoned two gentlemen of the enemy whom he recognised; and having surrendered his sword and received their faith for his security, he was raised from the ground, and seated under a tree. Almost at the same moment the Baron de Montesquieu, a Gascon gentleman and captain of the Swiss guards of the Duke of Anjou, rode up to the group, and asked who was the prisoner? Upon hearing that it was the Prince of Condé, he exclaimed with vehemence, "'Sdeath, kill him, kill him!" and approaching closely behind his back, discharged a pistol through his head, by which he was instantly despatched.

There is too much reason to believe that this most atrocious and cold-blooded murder would never have been perpetrated had it not been well known that it would be approved by the Duke of Anjou. Young as was that prince (he had scarcely yet attained his eighteenth year,) the seeds of those evil passions which afterward rendered him the most detestable of his odious race, had already struck deep root in his bosom, and one among the most prolific of them was revenge. He was jealous of Condé's popular qualities, and apprehensive of his rivalry. There can be little doubt, even after rejecting the improbable details preserved by Brantome, that he had found in him a competitor for the highest military command; and we may attach full credit to another portion of that garrulous anecdote-monger's narrative, in which he proceeds to state that the Duke of Anjou had con-

are la jambe cassée. It may seem, perhaps, that Brantome's account of a severe blow is more probable than that of an absolutely broken leg. *Un peu avant qu'aller à la charge il avoit eu contre la jambe un coup de pied de cheval du Comte de la Rochefaucault.—Disc. lxxx. 1. tom. vi. p. 339.* Davila also says no more than that Condé was *ferito*.—*Tom. i. lib. iv. p. 226.*

sented to peace solely for the purpose of entrapping the Prince of Condé, whom he hated with a hatred to describe which the English language has not an expression sufficiently strong, although we should say even unto death.* “It was not likely to be otherwise,” continues Brantome, remarking on the savage and treacherous act of Montesquieu, “for the prince, as I well know, had been *recommended* to many of the favourites of Monsieur, on account of the hatred borne against him from the day which I have mentioned; and assuredly there is nothing which a great man abominates so much as another great man who is his equal; unless it be one who is not so, and who yet endeavours to raise himself to equality.”

The ungenerous treatment which the remains of the fallen prince received, corroborates the suspicion that his assassination may be ultimately charged on the Duke of Anjou. “Monsieur,” says Brantome again, “was not at all displeased but overjoyed, and wished to see his enemy’s body after the conclusion of the battle. More out of insult than for any other reason, it was thrown across an old she ass that happened to be at hand; carried to Jarnac with the legs and arms dangling on either side of the beast, and placed in a lower room under the chamber then occupied by the duke, and on the day before by the

* *Qu’il hayssoit à male-mort et plus que tous les Huguenots.* Brantome states, that the Prince of Condé demanded the lieutenancy of the kingdom when the Spanish troops under d’Alva were on their march; that one evening, during the queen’s supper at St. Germain, the Duke of Anjou drew the prince aside, and conversed with him for a long time with gestures of great impatience; now grasping the hilt of his sword, now feeling for his poniard, now striking his cap up and down; while the prince replied unbonnetted, and with an appearance of meekness. Brantome admits that the bystanders, of whom himself was one, could not overhear a syllable of the conversation; nevertheless, he unblushingly adds that the duke fiercely reproved Condé’s presumption for aspiring to an office which was his own due; and assured him, that if he meddled any farther, he would make him repent it, *et le rendroit aussi petit compagnon comme il vouloit faire du grand.* *Disc. lxxx. 1. tom. vi. p. 337.* The comparative ages of the two parties, exclusive of the illustrious rank, the known courage, and the general characier of the Prince of Condé, sufficiently rebut this gossip.

prince himself." After having been thus brutally exhibited as a spectacle to the whole army, the body was in the end delivered to Condé's brother-in-law, the Duke of Longueville, and buried by the Prince of Bearne at Vendôme.*

Louis of Bourbon when thus foully and untimely murdered was in his nine-and-thirtieth year, and no personage of his time had evinced more brilliant and attractive qualities. Eminently gifted with the power of captivating those with whom he associated, whether in the court or camp, he appears to have won all affections of which he sought the mastery; and the wish which issued from almost every lip was, that Heaven would guard from ill

*Ce petit homme tant joly,
Qui toujours cause et toujours rit.*

His courtesy, liberality, affability, readiness of speech, and chivalrous courage, are subjects of unbounded admiration even among those most hostile to his opinions. "This prince," says a contemporary—that Pasquier, whose sagacity and knowledge of mankind we have often before had occasion to notice—"was generous and magnanimous; his actions sprang immediately from the heart."†—"He left to posterity the reputation of being the most generous prince of his time," is the character given by another, who had frequent opportunities of close observation, and who served the opposite party.‡ His faults were those of an ardent temper, unrestrained by early discipline, and encouraged by the contagion of a most licentious court. His services to the cause which he adopted were beyond all price; and that the Huguenots were able to make the glorious stand against oppression which we are now narrating, must principally be ascribed to the illustrious rank

* Such is Laval's very rational explanation of the difference between Brantome and De Thou, the former naming the Duke of Longueville, the latter the Prince of Bearne, as the person who obtained the corpse.

† Pasquier, *Lettres*, liv. v. p. 293. ‡ Castelnau, *Mém.* vii. v.

and the conciliating temper, to the wisdom, the energy, the vigilance, the activity, and the constancy which belonged to their great chieftain. It has been said, indeed, that his sole motive for embracing the Reformed doctrine, was the hope of personal aggrandizement; that the Huguenots were the ladder by which he thought to scale the throne; and the calumny invented by the Jesuits relative to a coinage bearing the legend "*Lodovicus XIII. Dei gratiâ Francorum Rex primus Christianus*," has been cited in corroboration of this design.* How far his motives may have been ambiguous; in what proportions ambition mingled with religious conviction when he announced that he was converted, was a problem unresolved perhaps by even the prince himself, and one which must be decided by a judgment more unerring than that of man. But it should be remembered that a follower who was long and intimately acquainted with his habits, and whose own strictness of life and of devotion afford a strong assurance that he would not deliberately misrepresent the character of another on those points, after joining in the universal eulogy of Condé's obvious merits, concludes by stating, "He bore himself better in adversity than in prosperity; his greatest commendation of all was his steadfastness in religion."†

* Brantome states that the constable exhibited a silver coin, bearing the above inscription, to the royal council; and he is especially precise in his notice of place and time; *l'an 1567, le 7 jour d'Octobre, apres midy, au Louvre*. He afterward, however, admits that he relies only on the tattle of the anti-chamber. *Je ne scay s'il est vray, mais il s'en disoit prou en la chambre du Roy et de la Reyne voire en la basse-cour*.—Disc. lxxx. l. tom. vi. p. 336. Le Blanc, in his *Traité Historique des Monnoies de France*, p. 335, affirms that he once saw in London a gold crown inscribed with the words above mentioned, which the owner refused to sell at any price. The Jesuits are accused of having forged this coin, in order to cast an imputation of treason upon Condé; and the fact is argued in the *Plaidoyer* of Arnaud, against their order, delivered in 1504, and printed in the *Mém. de la Ligue*, vi. 151. The forgery is examined by Le Laboureur, *Add. aux Mém. de Castelnau*, vii. 26, pp. 609. 614.

† La Noue, p. 433. That distinguished nobleman, to whom our references have been so frequent, was a branch of one of the most ancient families in Britany. He was born in 1531, and adopted the

Another Huguenot of some notoriety, Robert Stuart, was massacred, like Condé, after receiving quarter in this battle. When carried into the presence of the Duke of Anjou, he was recognised by the Marquis de Villars, as the individual who had killed his brother, the Constable Montmorency, at St. Denis.; and pricked with a fierce desire of revenge, that nobleman begged the unhappy captive of the prince. The bloody act which followed was committed not indeed under the immediate sight, but within the hearing of the duke. Stuart, having been led a little on one side, was stripped of his armour, and deliberately cut to pieces.*

The exultation of the youthful conqueror was boundless; and but for the discreet suggestion of one of his confidential officers, that he would thus accredit the rumour which imputed Condé's death to his express orders, he would have erected a chapel to mark the spot on which the prince had fallen: When intelligence of the victory was conveyed to Metz, the temporary residence of the court, great joy was manifested also in that city. On the arrival of the courier at midnight, Charles arose from his couch to receive him, and proceeded immediately to the cathedral to celebrate a *Te Deum*.† He then appointed a solemn service of thanksgiving throughout the kingdom; notified his success to all the crowned heads his allies; and laid the captured standards at the feet of the Pope. Pius V. was loud in his acknowledgments, and addressed letters of congratulation in return to the chief personages of the French court. "When I received your most

Huguenot principles before he was thirty years of age. His courage, probity, and sagacity, gave him eminent rank among his party; and so great was his reputation for integrity, that during the reign of Henry III. he was often named by both sides as an arbiter on disputed points. Having lost an arm before Fontenay, a skilful mechanist framed for him a substitute, from which he derived his *nom de guerre*, —*Bras-de-fer*. He was killed at the siege of Lamballe, in 1591.

* Brantome, *Discours*, lxii. tom. v. p. 408.

† De Thou, xlv. 4.

welcome messenger, my beloved son," were his words to the king, "announcing the victory gained by God's assistance over his enemies and those of the church, your rebellious subjects; and the death of the source of all these troubles and seditions, the leader of the heretic army; raising my hands to Heaven, I gave thanks to the Almighty with all lowliness of heart, for that He had vouchsafed you success, and had graciously poured out upon us also the riches of His loving-kindness. But in proportion as God has dealt thus mercifully, so ought you with greater diligence and strenuousness to employ this opportunity, that you may follow up and destroy the remnant of the enemy; that you may *utterly extirpate all the roots, and even the offsets from the roots*, of that so great and so confirmed an evil. If indeed they be not *altogether eradicated*, they will spring up again in quarters the least expected, as has often occurred before." Then, especially recommending the military occupation of Navarre, he urged Charles by the strongest exhortations to take from the common enemy all power of rising again. "This," he said, "will be best compassed, if you determine that no respect for human things or persons shall tempt you to spare the foes of God, by whom neither God nor yourself has ever yet been spared. You have indeed no other means of appeasing God, except by avenging most severely and with due punishment the injuries which He has endured from the most wicked of mankind;" and to that effect the example of Saul and the Amalekites was then propounded and applied.* Similar incitements to persecution were repeated in a second letter, written about a fortnight afterward, in which the king was assured that tranquillity could be obtained for France by no other

* *Epistolæ Pii. V. lib. iii. ep. 10*, dated March 28, 1569. Some of the strongest expressions of the original are, *ut eorum qui restant hostium reliquias persequaris atque conficias; omnesque tanti tamque corroborati mali radices atque etiam radicum fibras, funditus evellas: nisi enim penitus extirpatæ fuerint, futurum est ut rursus pullulent.*

means than by insisting on unity of religious faith. "To procure that unity, under God's assistance, it is requisite that your majesty should proceed against God's enemies and your own, by just pains and penalties, exercising with severity the fullest rigour of the law. For if any motive should induce you (which we are far, however, from suspecting) to delay pursuit and vengeance, in those matters which give offence to God, you will deservedly provoke His long-suffering to anger. It is your duty to be deaf to every prayer, to reject every claim of consanguinity and kindred, to manifest yourself inexorable to every voice which may dare to petition for the most impious of men; and to that holy task, as it becomes our pastoral office and our paternal affection, well knowing that you are inclined to undertake it, we nevertheless think it fitting to stimulate you by this fatherly admonition."*

Duplicates of these slaughter-breathing letters, with a few necessary variations of address, were at the same time transmitted to Catherine; and a hint was added that the Pope had heard of applications for the release of some of the heretic prisoners without punishment; a rumour which he confidently trusted the queen would be able to contradict.† To the Duke of Anjou, Pius wrote in terms of high compliment on his brilliant success in so early youth; urging him to follow up his victory with activity, and to exhort his royal brother to administer punishment unsparingly.‡ But the pontiff's chief expressions of confidence and attachment were reserved for the Cardinal of Lorraine; "If there be any one," he said, "of those numerous illustrious Catholics by God's grace existing in France, who is to be congratulated more heartily than another on this seasonable victory, surely you are that person to whom

* *Epistolæ Pii V. lib. iii. ep. 16*, dated April 13, 1569.

† *Id. lib. iii. ep. 11, 12.*

‡ *Id. lib. iii. ep. 13. 18.*

we would peculiarly manifest our paternal sympathy. Not only because you are endowed with singular piety towards God, and are so deeply imbued with affection for the Catholic faith, that no one is likely to feel greater present joy, but because we know also that through God's assistance, it is mainly to your discreet counsels and wise suggestions that the Christian commonwealth of your kingdom is indebted for its prosperity." The remainder of the letter enjoins the cardinal, in a similar spirit to that which Pius displayed elsewhere, to exert every energy which he possessed for the suppression of any inclination to mercy which might chance to arise in the young king's bosom.*

The loss of lives in the battle of Jarnac had been inconsiderable in point of number, amounting to about four hundred Huguenots and half as many royalists. The latter were tardy in improving their victory; and the heroic energy of the Queen of Navarre, together with the skilful generalship of the admiral, soon restored the courage and re-organized the discipline of the beaten army. The queen hastened from La Rochelle to the head-quarters at Cognac, and there harangued the troops. While deeply sorrowing for the loss of Condé, she took occasion to propose his bright career as an example which every Huguenot ought to follow. "Still," she exclaimed, "is he living among us in spirit. He has left a son who inherits his name and virtues; and I also have a son who is the property of THE CAUSE." Before she left the camp, the Prince of Bearne, as her son Henry was then called, was formally declared *protector* of the Huguenots, and received oaths of fidelity from the principal officers in the army:† the chief command remaining with the admiral under the title of lieutenant-general.

* *Epistolæ Pii* 5. lib. iii. ep. 14.

† Gold medals were struck on this occasion bearing the legend, *Pax certa. Victoria integra. Mors honesta.*—La Popelinière, liv. xvi. fol. 98. Castelnau, vii. 6.

The death of Francis d'Andelot by a fever, ^{May 27.} not long after the defeat at Jarnac, was another severe blow both upon the admiral and the Huguenots at large. He was among the earliest personages of distinction who had avowed conversion; and the consequent forfeiture of his sovereign's favour, and the painful imprisonment which he had endured for conscience sake under Henry II. were sure pledges of both his constancy and his sincerity. In soundness of judgment also, and in military science, he was exceeded by few of his party. Dispirited by these repeated strokes of evil fortune, it was with proportionate increase of joy that the Huguenots, in the course of the summer, effected a happy junction with their German allies. After three month's painful march across little less than a thousand miles of hostile territory, during which they were harassed by almost perpetual skirmishes, seven thousand five hundred reistres and six thousand lansquenets arrived at St. Yrier, ^{June 23.} to which spot the admiral had advanced in order to meet them. The Duke of Deux Ponts, by whom this arduous movement had been conducted, overpowered by fatigue and anxiety, died three days before its conclusion; the command devolved upon his lieutenant, Wolrath, Count Mansfield, and the Huguenots now presented altogether a formidable army of twenty-five thousand men.

September, however, passed away before the occurrence of any military exploit which need find a place in our narrative. The fury of the court meantime exhibited itself in a fierce war of proclamations, which, by order of the Cardinal of Lorraine, were promulgated in the French, Latin, German, Italian, Spanish, and English languages. Under the authority of the parliament of Paris, the chief Huguenot leaders were denounced as traitors; a reward of fifty thousand crowns and a free pardon were offered to any one engaged in the rebellion, who

should capture the admiral, dead or alive: the Vidame of Chartres and the Count of Montgomery were sentenced together with him to capital punishment; and their three effigies, after having been drawn in a tumbril to the Place de Grève, were there suspended from a gibbet. These tokens of determined hatred and bitterness were especially grateful to the head of the Apostolic Church; and Pius V. wrote afresh to Charles, expressing his delight that he had stripped of all his honours, and covered with deserved ignominy, "that execrable and detestable man, if indeed he may be called a man, who pretends to be admiral of the kingdom; but who is, in truth, the agent of the Devil's treachery, the leader and standard-bearer of all heresies, and the stirrer-up of discord and civil war."* The results of the parliamentary ordinances were speedily manifested. Won by promises of immunity for the past, of a large bribe in immediate possession, and of protection for the future, the valet of the admiral undertook to remove him by poison. The plot was discovered, and distinctly traced to an officer high in the service of the Duke of Anjou; the prime mover of the great crime was beyond the reach of punishment, but his villanous agent met the death which his treachery deserved.

As autumn advanced, strong reasons urged the admiral to court an engagement. The French gentry of Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné, had once again grown impatient of their protracted absence from home, and took little pains to disguise

* *Epist. Pii V. lib. iii. ep. 41.* In another letter addressed to Catherine (43,) Coligny is styled *hominem unum omnium fallacissimum ex-ecrandæque memoriæ . . . quo potissimum consiliario scelerumque omnium architecto tota ista pestilentissimi belli flamma est excitata.* A following despatch (44,) to the Marquis de Villars, who had been named as successor to Coligny in the admiralty, describes him in similar language, as *Perditionis filius, . . . Catholicæ Religionis acerrimus hostis, perturbator publicæ tranquillitatis, qui omnia sua consilia hæreticus cum hæreticis sibi consocianda putavit, proditionis hæreseosque crimine atque omni dedecore infamis.*

their intentions of disbanding. The Germans murmured and almost mutinied for want of pay; and Coligny perceived that it was only a battle which could prevent the entire dissolution of his army. The Duke of Anjou was far from being pressed by similar necessity; his treasury was rich, his supplies were abundant, and his troops, therefore, were well contented. But, burning with the ardour of youth, he coveted fresh laurels and was weary of inaction; and even the older and more experienced generals who formed his council, anxiously desired to strike a blow, by which they trusted to free the kingdom from the great hazard to which it was now exposed, by the presence, on both sides, of so numerous bands of foreign mercenaries. In this temper, the two armies approached each other on the 2d of October, near the castle of Moncontour, on a height above the river Dive, in Poitou; where a most severe skirmish, greatly disadvantageous to the Huguenots, was terminated only by the night.

Oct. 3.

On the morrow, the admiral, sensible of his inferiority, would have avoided a renewal of the combat; but the delay occasioned by the tardy obedience of his mutinous Germans when ordered to march, and by endeavours to retain the unwilling Huguenots under their banners, enabled the Duke of Anjou to force his enemy into battle against his better judgment. The languishing spirit of the troops was reanimated by the appearance of the young princes on the field before the combat began; and Henry of Navarre, with that gallant bearing which so often afterward availed him in the hour of peril and difficulty, rode along the lines, courteously saluting the German leaders, and addressing the French nobles familiarly by name. After a short opening cannonade, the light troops of the Huguenots were first driven back; and in the subsequent advance of the main royalist body upon that of the admiral, he was wounded in the cheek and compelled to with-

draw. The battle then became severe. For awhile the royalist line wavered, and fortune manifestly appeared inclining to the Reformed. The seasonable presence of the Duke of Anjou, who, careless of danger, had a horse killed under him,* and plunging into the thickest fight, pressed the wearied Huguenots with a charge of fresh troops, after two hours' contest† changed their short success into a complete rout. The German lansquenets were first trodden down by their own flying reistres; and when afterward, surrounded and overpowered by a greatly superior force, they had thrown down their arms and begged quarter, so great was the fury of the Swiss mercenaries opposed to them, that out of four thousand men not more than two hundred were spared; two thousand Huguenot infantry fell at the same time, and about an equal number were taken prisoners; the cavalry suffered less severely, and their killed did not exceed three hundred. On the other hand, the chief loss of the royalists was in their horse, and among the five hundred men at arms who perished were counted many officers of note. Standards, baggage, and artillery, fell into the possession of the conquerors, but their success, although complete in the field, did not extend beyond its limits. The flight of the scattered army was so well covered by a reserve under Prince Louis of Nassau, that pursuit was almost immediately abandoned as hopeless and unavailing.‡

It was to the care of that brave and able general that the young Princes of Bearne and Condé were intrusted, with permission to view the battle from a neighbouring height. The former watched the alter-

* Castelnau, vii. 9.

† Castelnau, *ut sup.* La Noue, p. 444, reduces the time to "somewhat more than half an hour."

‡ William, Prince of Orange, and his brothers, chased from the Netherlands by the Duke d'Alva, had joined the march of the Germans with a few troops of horse; but William had returned to Flanders before the battle of Moncontour.

nations of the field with intense anxiety ; and, at a moment, during the first shock of the two main bodies, in which the royalists showed symptoms of unsteadiness, it was with difficulty he was restrained from charging in person. When checked in his purpose, he exclaimed with bitterness of disappointment, "Then we throw away our advantage, and the battle in consequence!" and the result of the day proved how correct had been the military instinct of this warrior of sixteen.*

The victory of Moncontour once again called forth the Papal congratulations, and they were delivered in terms similar to those which had followed the triumph of Jarnac. Unsparing dispensation of punishment, inexorable firmness in resisting entreaties for mercy, and unbending resolution to mould every man's faith after a single model, were earnestly recommended to the most Christian king ; and the establishment of the Inquisition in every city of his dominions was advanced as the specific and sovereign prophylactic against the contagion of heresy.† In spite of these counsels, little advantage was derived by the conquerors from their great victory. Instead of vigorously pushing the scattered remnant of the Huguenots, the Duke of Anjou commenced the siege of St. Jean d'Angely ; a neighbouring fortified town, which, according to the maxims of war at that time, he was unwilling to leave in his rear. Its capture cost him two important months, and six thousand men, who perished under its walls either by the sword or by disease. The defence was most gallant ; Dec. 23. and the Lord de Pilles, who conducted it, did not accept the honourable terms under which he capitulated, till his garrison was reduced to less than half its original number, his ammunition was ex-

* Prefixe, p. 26.

† *Epist. Pii. V. lib. iii. ep. 45.* There are also letters of congratulation on the victory of Moncontour, addressed by the Pope to Cosmo, Duke of Florence, (46,) and to the Cardinal Legate of Bourbon, (47.)

hausted, his walls were battered to the ground, and he was utterly hopeless of relief.

The admiral fell back in the first instance upon Parthenay, a few leagues from the scene of his defeat. A short delay in that town and in Niort, to which he afterward retreated, enabled him to collect his entire cavalry and about four thousand foot; and having first taken measures for the security of La Rochelle, he determined to abandon the present seat of war, and to pass the winter in Guienne and Languedoc. Those provinces and their immediate neighbourhood offered many advantages. They were unoccupied by any royalist force which could excite apprehension; such of their towns as had shown themselves well affected to THE CAUSE would afford recruits and supplies; and such as were hostile might be given up as free quarters to the Germans, hungering for their wages, and little scrupulous whether they received them from plunder or from pay. Montauban, on the frontiers of the two provinces, was chosen as the principal dépôt;* from that town numerous excursions were made into the surrounding districts, and Toulouse was visited with especial severity in reprisal for the death of Rapin.

The capture of Nismes was one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of this winter. In that rich and distinguished city, a great proportion of the inhabitants had very early embraced the Reformed doctrine; but the austerity of the governor, St. André, had driven the most zealous Huguenots from their abodes, and reduced those who still lingered behind to apparent conformity. The hope of triumphant return, still, however, glowed unextin-

* A mint is said to have been established in that town by the Huguenots, from which issued a coinage bearing the legend, *Monnoye de la République de Montauban*. Le Blanc, who mentions the story, had never seen any of the coins. He adds, that the Huguenots took especial delight in caricaturing the more than ordinary length of Charles IXth's nose, in his effigy upon some testons which they struck.—*Traité Hist. des Monnoies de France*, 335.

guished in the bosoms of the exiles, and by the courage of a simple artisan it was ultimately gratified. A copious stream rising without the walls, at the foot of the hills which overshadow the beautiful remains of the Temple of Diana, after traversing the city, issues again from it near the Porte des Carmes. At its exit, it was protected by a strong iron grate, not far above which was stationed a sentinel, relieved once every hour during the night. The guard, when he quitted his watch, gave a signal on the city bell to warn his successor, and thus a few minutes intervened between every relief, during which the post was unoccupied. Madaron, a carpenter of the neighbourhood, having observed this unmilitary remissness, concerted his plan accordingly. Having descended into the ditch at nightfall, during the absence of the sentinel, he girded himself with a rope thrown from the walls by a confederate, whose grasp, as it was relaxed or tightened was to notify that the moment was favourable, or otherwise, to the workman below. Thus prepared, Madaron approached the grating and filed the bars: the gustiness of the autumnal breezes, and the constant murmuring of the rivulet assisting to conceal whatever noise he was unable to avoid; and which, even if it broke at all upon the ear of the unsuspecting sentinel, was attributed by him to any but the real cause; some stone, he thought, was carried roughly down the channel and dashed against the banks, or some one of the many dogs who prowled along the ramparts was gnawing a half-eaten bone. Knee-deep in mud, and exposed to the inclemency of frequent storms, Madaron continued his patient toil during fifteen nights, selecting those which were moonless and cloudy; and before each dawn, having smeared the bars with a composition of wax and clay, in order to conceal the marks of his file, he quitted the ditch undiscovered. Not till the work was completed did he disclose his ulterior scheme to the exiles; and the remainder of the

perilous enterprise was undertaken with zeal by a Huguenot detachment quartered in the neighbourhood. Three hundred men were placed in ambush under the cover of some olive trees by which the city is surrounded; and they were accompanied, as was usual on such occasions, by a minister, who passed the hours previous to the attack in prayer and spiritual admonition. But while they awaited the appointed moment, a tempest accompanied with lightning most unusually vivid, well nigh disconcerted the ripened undertaking. Struck with terror by this prodigy, as it appeared to them, at so late a season of the year, and fearing that they must have been discovered from the walls, the soldiers declared that Heaven, by those tokens, had avowed itself hostile to their enterprise; and it required all the zeal and eloquence of the minister to direct their superstition into an opposite channel, and to convert this inopportune omen into a presage of victory. Their captain, seizing an instant in which they seemed thus impressed, hurried to the ditch, easily removed the grating, entered the city with a few comrades, and opened the gates to the remainder. The drowsy burghers were roused from sleep by loud shouts and trumpet-blasts in their streets; and the dead hour of the night increased the panic occasioned by these unwonted sounds. Little resistance was attempted; and before morning, Nismes, with the exception of its citadel, was in possession of the Huguenots. In the first exultation of victory many lives were sacrificed; and the aged governor, who had broken a leg in attempting to escape by leaping from the walls, fell a victim to the revenge which his former harshness had provoked. The citadel maintained itself during a three months' siege, but at length capitulated, and Nismes, the most important city of Languedoc, fell altogether into the power of the Huguenots.*

* De Thou, xlv. 7,

On the return of spring, the admiral was early in motion. The court, indeed, with its ^{1570.} customary policy, had expressed willingness to treat for peace, even immediately after the battle of Moncontour, and coveted nothing so much as that disarming of the Huguenots which would again render them an easy prey. But Coligny was too sagacious not to perceive, that he could secure far better terms if it were in his power to assume a menacing attitude, than if he negotiated under the pressure of defeat. A severe and dangerous illness checked his progress not long after he had resumed the field; and upon his recovery were suspended the fortunes of the Huguenot cause. "Peradventure," writes La Noue, "if he had been carried away, there would have ensued change of counsayle; for having lost the hinge whereupon the whole gate was turned, they could hardly have found such another; but in the end God sent him health to the great contentation of all men."*

By the middle of June, the Huguenots had penetrated into Burgundy. During the eight months which had elapsed since their defeat at Moncontour, they had made a circuit of the greater part of France, almost every where with success; and passing over nearly three hundred leagues of country, they had gained or recovered fifty principal towns. Paris was now their avowed destination; and that great capital already trembled at the approach of their twice beaten army. The Maréchal de Cossée, with a greatly superior force, lay between them and the object of their march; and in a long and hard-fought skirmish at René le Duc, each party so far ^{June 25.} learned the vigour of its enemy as to feel unwilling to renew the combat. A suspension of arms for ten days ensued in consequence; and notwithstanding the zealous remonstrances of the Spanish ambassador, and the well-known disapprobation of the Pope,

* p. 452.

Aug. 15. a treaty of peace was finally concluded at St. Germain on the 15th of August.*

Pius V. successively addressed each of the leading personages of the French court, through whose influence he felt any hope that he might avert amicable negotiation. Twice he wrote to Charles himself; once to Catherine, urging her to prevent by her maternal care the numerous dangers to which the king was likely to be exposed from wicked counsellors; once to the Duke of Anjou, once to the Cardinal of Bourbon. His last missive was directed to the Cardinal of Lorraine, on the very day before the final signature of the treaty.† This most confidential of the Papal correspondents was exhorted and implored in the name of Almighty God, as he bore in mind the duty which he owed to Heaven and to the Catholic faith; as he was conscious of the distinguished fidelity which he had always manifested to both of them, in the most turbulent season by which France had ever been agitated; as he remembered the dignity and importance of the part which he sustained in the realm; to leave no exertions untried by which he might disturb and overthrow the negotiation. But these artifices by which the pretended vicar of the God of peace sought to prolong the continuance of war, proved altogether unavailing; and it remained for him to denounce the conclusion of the treaty, with a bitterness not less remarkable than the pertinacity with which he had endeavoured to impede its advance. No sooner was the peace signed than his tears were abundantly poured forth for the hazardous compact by which the heretics had succeeded in imposing upon the court terms so nefarious and so destructive. He could not but apprehend that God had abandoned to a reprobate mind the king

* At the conclusion of the peace of St. Germain, we lose the important guidance of two very prominent and upright actors in the scenes which they describe, Castelnau and La Noue.

† *Epist. Pii V. lib. iv. ep. 1. to 6.* dated respectively Jan. 29, April 23, and Aug. 14.

and his counsellors who had given their assent to it, so that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand.*

The chief provisions of the peace of St. Germain were amnesty for the past; restoration of the Roman Catholic faith in all places in which it had been suspended; and permission for the Huguenots to live in every part of the kingdom, unmolested on account of their religion, and free from domiciliary visits, "provided they behaved themselves according to the ordinances of the present edict." The privilege of celebrating public service in their *Chateaux* during the period of their actual residence, was confirmed to lords holding their fiefs *in capite*; others were permitted to solemnize worship for their families; "yet in case any of their friends should chance to come there to the number of ten, or some christening should occur in haste, the company not exceeding the same number, they shall not be prosecuted nor troubled for the same." As an especial gratification to his "dear and most beloved aunt," the Queen of Navarre, the king empowered her to have divine service performed, in the presence of as many persons as chose to assist, in one house in each of her fiefs, even during her absence from it. The suburbs of certain provincial towns, expressly named, were set apart for the exercise of general worship, provided such towns were neither the actual residence of the court for the time being, nor within two leagues of that residence. In Paris, and within ten leagues, it was altogether prohibited. The universities, schools, and hospitals, were thrown open without regard to difference of religion, and the Huguenots were declared capable of holding all dignities and public offices. Above all, the four important towns, La Rochelle, La Charité, Montauban, and Cognac, were delivered for two years into the

* *Epist.* Pii V. lib. iv. ep. 7, 8. To the Cardinals of Bourbon and Lorraine, dated Sept. 23.

custody of the Princes of Navarre and Condé; in order that all of their religion who felt unwilling to dwell elsewhere, might if they so pleased fix their abode in those places. The occupation of La Rochelle secured to the Huguenots free intercourse with their English allies; La Charité commanded the navigation of the Loire; Montauban opened to them a communication with Languedoc; and Cognac was in the heart of Angoumois, a province in which their friends very greatly predominated.

These terms, notwithstanding many painful and invidious distinctions which they created or retained, were, on the whole, much more advantageous than the fortune of war had entitled the Huguenots to expect. By many, therefore, they were contemplated with suspicion. The wits of the court amused themselves by an untranslatable pun bearing reference to the two chief negotiators, and named the peace "lame and ill conditioned."* Graver politicians ominously foreboded a speedy renewal of calamity from the hollowness of the reconciliation. The admiral alone expressed cordial satisfaction. Disgusted by the many atrocities which he had witnessed, by those fearful acts which no strictness of discipline can wholly restrain during the rage of civil contest, he was steadily resolved to close its horrors at any price. He felt strong hopes of directing the king's inclinations to a war with Spain in the low countries; and he more than once forcibly declared his willingness to encounter a violent and ignominious death, rather than again to draw the sword against his fellow-countrymen.†

* *La Paix boiteuse et mal-assise*. The Maréchal de Biron was lame, Henri de Mesmes was lord of *Mal-assise*. The title has been sometimes incorrectly applied to the peace of 1588. In the *Additions aux Mémoires de Castelnau*, lib. vii. ch. 12. vol. ii. p. 776, Henri de Mesmes himself is cited as refuting the sarcasm by a statement that none of the former treaties had continued inviolate for an equally long period.

† *La Noue*, p. 455. De Thou, xlvii. 20.

The king's marriage with Elizabeth of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian II., was celebrated before the close of this year; and a similar contract was proposed between Margaret, the sister of Charles, and Henry, Prince of Bearne; a union by which it was affirmed that the conflicting interests of the two religions would be finally reconciled. One pretender to the hand of that princess was first to be silenced, and the king took a summary mode of extinguishing whatever ambitious hope had been kindled in the bosom of the young Duke of Guise by Margaret's somewhat prodigal encouragement. Indignant at the presumption of a subject in thus aspiring to match with royalty, Charles instructed his bastard brother, Henry d'Angoulême, grand prior of France, to assassinate the duke while engaged on a hunting party; and notwithstanding the hesitation of the instrument which he selected, the crime would probably have been committed but for a seasonable warning which Guise received, and for his equally seasonable haste to disarm his sovereign's jealousy by an immediate marriage with Catherine of Cleves, widow of the late Prince of Porcean.*

Early in the following spring, the VIIth 1571.
Synod of the Reformed Church of France April 2.
assembled at La Rochelle. It was the first similar meeting which had received the sanction of royal authority, and it commenced its sittings under the direct protection of the king's letters patent. Beza was summoned from Geneva as moderator; and he was supported, among others, by Nicolas Des Gallards, a minister in conjunction with whom he is supposed to have written that *ecclesiastical history* to which our pages have been so largely indebted. By this assembly the confession of faith drawn up at the first synod, in 1589, was recited and confirmed. The teaching of Socinus and his followers, in Poland

* De Thou, xlvii. 21. See *ante*, p. 230,

and Transylvania, was condemned as a revival of the false doctrines of "Samosatanus, Arius, Photinus, Nestorius, Eutyches, and many others, yea, and of Mahomed himself also;" and the ministers unanimously voted "their detestation of all those abominable errors and heresies." A committee appointed to examine "the tables of Cozain,"* reported that they were to be "condemned, rejected, and detested;" and they were instructed to desire the English bishops "to repress his and the other errors which had begun to be in vogue among them." Beza was "ordered" to answer certain impugnors of the confession of faith; and little freedom, it seems, was left to the exercise of his discretion as to the fittest mode of obeying this command. He was to employ materials collected by the minister of Bourdeaux, and the whole was afterward "to be communicated to the brethren of Geneva." Some obscurities in the confession were explained; and a subtle commentary was given on the sense in which "participation of Christ's substance" was predicated, in that article which treated of the Lord's Supper. A vague form of ordination was drawn up by De Chandieu, and ministers were "forbidden to practise physick, or any other calling, trade, or vocation whatsoever."

Never had any Huguenot ecclesiastical meeting been attended by so many distinguished personages as graced this synod. "There were present," says the report of its acts, "Joane, by the grace of God, Queen of Navarre; the high and mighty Prince Henry, Prince of Navarre; the high and mighty Prince Henry de Bourbon, Prince of Condé; the most illustrious Prince Louis, Count of Nassau; Sir Gasper Count de Coligny, the Admiral of France, and divers other lords and gentlemen, besides the

* Probably the *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Politeia in Tabulas digesta* of Richard Cosin, dean of the arches in the reign of Elizabeth, and a strenuous opposer of Presbyterianism.

deputies who were members of the church of God." A proposition made by the admiral is distinguished by its gentleness and charity ;—that no person when first reported to the consistory for impropriety of behaviour should be mentioned by name till his miscarriage had been proved. The Queen of Navarre was warned in somewhat imperious language, "not to sell her vacant offices, especially those of judicature ; nor to bestow them upon the recommendation of another, without her personal knowledge of their qualifications and abilities who are to discharge them ;" and to a question which she proposed she received an answer manifesting that the church was animated by a decided spirit of exclusiveness. "The Queen of Navarre having demanded our advice whether through want of others she might with a good conscience receive and establish Roman Catholic officers in her dominions, as also in her court and family. To which the synod humbly replied, that her majesty should take special heed about her domestic officers, and as much as possible to employ persons fearing God, and of the Reformed religion ; and that she should cause the Papists who are peaceable, and of unblameable lives, to be instructed, and that she should utterly discard those traitors, who forsook her in her necessities, and cruelly persecuted God's saints in these last troubles."

The events occupying the two years which succeeded the peace of St. Germain have been scrutinized with a keenness of research not exceeded by that applied to any other period of history. Pure zeal for religion, a sober love of truth, the blindness and bigotry of partisanship, and that natural curiosity which is always more or less excited by difference of opinion, have each by turns addressed themselves to the inquiry ; and it would be difficult indeed to present the reader with any facts which have not before seen the light, or to offer him any arguments by which the deductions obtained from those facts

have not already been supported. It will be enough if we can hope to frame our narrative with accuracy; and if, while we show that which appears to us to be the incontrovertible result of the evidence before us, we can succeed in guarding ourselves from the opposite errors either of extenuation or exaggeration. In entering upon any less well-known and less beaten story, it would be a just rule of composition not to anticipate the catastrophe by premature allusions; not to place our goal full in sight at the commencement, as the point of direct view which closes a long perspective. But, in the present instance, such concealment is wholly impracticable. Were it attempted, the reader's impatient acquaintance with facts would outrun the writer's sedate artifice; every eye which glances but for a moment at the names of Catherine de Medicis and of Charles IX. associates them at once with the fiend-like deeds of the St. Bartholomew; and there would be little good taste in affecting to dissemble our necessary and unavoidable knowledge of that association.

If we look to the former transactions of the reign of Charles, we shall every where observe, during the short intervals of peace which served but as breathing times for the renewal of more fierce hostility, numerous breaches of fidelity on the part of government which it was not thought worth while either to conceal or to excuse. It is needless to repeat the many instances with which our pages have abounded, of bitter insults, of sickening cruelties, of judicial murders, and of secret assassinations, suffered by the followers of the proscribed doctrines; of the violences openly perpetrated; of the redress haughtily and contemptuously denied. War was to them comparatively a season of relief for they were then prepared for danger, and in many instances were fully able to resist it. But during nominal peace, the destroyer approached them stealthily and unexpectedly; and the sword was sheathed

only that the victims might be put under saws, and under harrows, and under axes of iron. On a sudden, however, we shall perceive this policy altogether changed; the government appeared actuated by a new spirit and a new soul; its tokens of hatred were transformed into unmeasured prodigality of affection; its most hidden counsels were seemingly communicated to those against whom it had hitherto breathed the uttermost vengeance; the chiefs so lately abhorred were courted, honoured, and preferred; and the great mass of their followers, whose extermination had been so often not only menaced but attempted, was protected by authority, and encouraged to resort to the shield of law.

This revolution of feeling in the court was greatly in advance, however, of the spirit which prevailed among the people at large; and the Roman Catholic rabble of Paris, who early manifested that their opinions remained unaltered, were severely taught that they must accommodate them to those notions which it now suited their rulers to adopt. About three years before the time of which we are treating, Gastines, an opulent and distinguished merchant in the capital, unblamed in life and an object of general attachment, had been accused of celebrating divine service and the Lord's Supper by night, in his own house, in contravention of the royal edict. The denouncement involved his brother also and another intimate family connexion, as being present at this forbidden worship; and the sentence passed upon them all was death and confiscation. Gastines, venerable from his years, his demeanour, and his benevolence, was regarded with universal pity and affection. His character had endeared him to every class of his fellow-citizens; it was more than suspected that bribery had been employed among his judges by a notorious tool of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and it was not without manifestations of popular discontent, that an offence in all preceding

instances expiated by fine and banishment, was now to be punished on the scaffold. But the authorities refused mitigation of their decree, and the prisoners were executed. Yet farther, perhaps in consequence of the unwelcome expression of public disapprobation, the house of the chief culprit, in which the Huguenot meetings had been assembled, was razed to the ground; and as a perpetual mark of ignominy, a monument, named the cross of Gastines, built on the spot from the produce of the sale of his property, bore inscribed upon it his sentence of condemnation. By the first clause of the Treaty of St. Germain, a general amnesty had been declared; and that provision included the annulment of all criminal decrees and judgments issued on religious accounts during the late troubles; the restoration of their confiscated property to the sufferers; and the suppression of all records and monuments which might prevent oblivion of the past. No act so important as the demolition of the cross of Gastines had hitherto been demanded by the Huguenots in compliance with this stipulation; but, when demanded, it was not refused. As a compromise, however, and to avoid any breach of the peace which might arise from the presence of a tumultuous mob in a crowded city, it was agreed that the removal should take place by night, and that the monument should be re-erected in the neighbouring cemetery of St. Innocent's, after the obliteration of the offensive inscription and the substitution of another in honour of the holy cross. But it was little likely that a work of so great magnitude, requiring the labour of many hours, could pass unobserved. A few straggling spectators gathered on the spot in the first instance; and as their numbers increased, the indulgence shown to the Huguenots was vehemently and angrily discussed. Fierce words were the prelude to fiercer acts; and the mob, procuring arms, attacked and pillaged some houses belonging to the Reformed, and killed a ser-

vant who offered resistance. Montmorency, the Governor of Paris, hastened to repress the tumult; some of the more prominent ringleaders were cut down by his followers, and one of the very lowest class, whom it has been thought worth while to specify as a vender of oranges, was summarily hanged from the window of a neighbouring house. This vigorous demonstration of power struck terror into the other rioters, who speedily dispersed; and it was received with marked joy by the Huguenots, who concluded that their security was an object of solicitude to the police.* How far their deduction was correct remains to be perceived hereafter.

CHAPTER X.

Projected Marriage between Henry of Bearne and the Princess Margaret—Assassination of Lignerolles—The Admiral comes to Court—Pius V. endeavours to break off the match—Mission of the Cardinal Legate Alessandrino—Examination of the words used to him by Charles IX.—Death of Pius V.—VIIIth National Synod—Letter of the Queen of Navarre to her Son—She proceeds to Paris—Her death and character—Henry assumes the title of King of Navarre—The Admiral disregards all warnings—His arrival in Paris—Fraud respecting the Dispensation—The Marriage—Festivities succeeding it—The Admiral is wounded—Maurevel the Assassin—The King visits the Admiral—State of the Huguenots on the night before the Feast of St. Bartholomew.

THE marriage of the Prince of Béarne with the Princess Margaret formed the subject of an express mission to La Rochelle, and the Maréchal de Biron was despatched to invite the Queen of Navarre and her son to the royal presence, and to urge the projected nuptials as the surest pledge of sincere recon-

* De Thou, l. 12. The removal of the *Croix de Gastines* occasioned a controversy between René Benoit, at one time a waverer between the two religions, but afterward a fiery Romanist, and some anonymous Huguenots, who styled themselves *la plus saine partie des Messieurs de Paris*. The tracts on both sides may be found in the *Mémoires de l'Etat de France, sous Charles IX.*—i. 65, &c. Ed. 1579.

ciliation. The envoy was instructed to represent, as from himself, that the conclusion of this alliance would effectually destroy the slight remaining influence of the Guises, who were already on the eve of quitting court. He added, that a refusal might leave evil impressions on the mind of the king, who was negotiating with Rome for the dispensation requisite both on account of consanguinity and of difference of religion. The Pope as yet hesitated; but if other matters were previously arranged between the contracting parties, which could only be done by word of mouth, little doubt remained but that his holiness would gratify the king's desire. In this assertion Biron went far beyond the truth. Pius, to his last moments, obstinately persisted in refusal; and on one occasion, as we are told by his secretary and biographer, placed his left hand, the hand he always used, on his throat, and fervently declared that he would lose his head rather than grant the dispensation.* The Queen of Navarre returned her thanks with all due gratitude for the proffered honour; but she considered the proposal too weighty not to require farther time for deliberation. Such a connexion, she said, was doubtless to be coveted, both on account of the distinction and of the advantage which it conferred; nevertheless, some hesitation could not but arise from the nearness of blood and the opposition of faith between the principals. If, after consulting her divines, she found that she could proceed with a safe conscience, she would then most willingly assent to any conditions which the king, and the queen his mother, might propose.

The court passed the summer at Blois, frequently repeating, without effect, the invitation to the Queen of Navarre, her son, and the young Prince of Condé. In the autumn it proceeded to Bourgueil, in Touraine; where stood one of the many delicious palaces which Catherine's Italian taste for magnificent archi-

* Catena, *Vita di Pio V.* p. 196.

ture had constructed at a boundless expense. That visit was clouded by a dark event never yet fully explained; but which contemporary suspicion connected with later and far more bloody occurrences. The Count de Lignerolles, a confidential favourite of the Duke of Anjou, and one of the chief officers in his household, was assassinated at mid-day, in the town hall, by a band of the leading courtiers; among whom were especially noted the Vicomte de la Guerche, a personal enemy, and Henri d'Angoulême, the king's bastard brother. The rank of the assassins, the publicity of their deed, and the ultimate impunity with which it was attended, left not a doubt that it had been perpetrated by high command; and various motives were assigned for the crime. By some it was attributed to the king's jealousy in a love affair, but the habits of Charles render that conjecture improbable.* Others whispered that an important secret, known to few but the royal brothers, had been confided by the Duke of Anjou to his friend; and that Lignerolles, indiscreetly betraying his acquaintance with it to the king's ears, had atoned, by the forfeiture of life, for his idle vanity.†

* Charles is said by Brantome to have intrigued *tres sobrement* . . . *et plus par reputation*, than on any other account.—*Discours*, lxxviii. tom. vii. p. 25.

† De Thou, l. 14.; where he states many conflicting opinions concerning the fatal secret. Some fully believed it to relate to the subsequent massacre; other Huguenots about court, "as I have heard from their own mouths," adds De Thou, "did not think that Charles at that time contemplated the massacre." A little onward (li. 9.) he remarks, that although Charles himself at that time might not be fully informed of the bloody design, it was believed to have been long meditated by Catherine, the Duke of Anjou, and their confidants. He farther notices a fact which greatly tends to inculpate Charles. A wooden tower was constructed opposite the Louvre, avowedly that its mimic siege might form part of the diversions at the marriage of Henry and Margaret. It was suddenly pulled down; and the story ran that the King of Navarre and the chief Huguenots, arrayed as assailants of the mock fortress, were to have been killed by an *accidental* discharge of ball-cartridges from its battlements; that Lignerolles betrayed his privy to that design; and that the king, in order to silence suspicion, murdered the indiscreet courtier and destroyed the tower. The same story is related at much length in the *Mémoires d'Etat*, i. 44.

Undisturbed by this murder, however, the royal circle continued its diversions; and the admiral, less cautious than the Queen of Navarre, repaired to court, and was received with distinguished honours. He was permitted to entertain a private body-guard of fifty men, even within the verge of the palace; the king restored him to his seat in council; presented him with a largess of one hundred thousand crowns, as an indemnity for his losses in the past troubles; addressed him as cousin; and added a few words, the ambiguous sense of which must have afforded no slight inward triumph to this most consummate dissembler. "Now that we have once got you by our side, you shall not hereafter quit it hastily nor at your pleasure." But the lure had been spread for a larger quarry than it had as yet attracted; the admiral, singly, was an insufficient prize; and, after a short visit, during which the war in Flanders was studiously made the principal subject of discussion, he was permitted to return to his estate of Châtillon.

It is probable that the marked attentions thus offered to the admiral, called forth an indirect remonstrance, which Pius V. addressed to Catherine before the close of this year. While exciting her to activity in behalf of the English Romanists, he pointed out the former declaration which Elizabeth, "that worst of queens," had promulgated in favour of Coligny and the Huguenots. He warned her that the French pretended Reformed, notwithstanding the existing appearance of peace, still held perpetual communication with England; that they were collecting treasure by pillage and piracies from the Catholics;* and that, perhaps, a conspiracy was at that moment ripening in the very heart of her kingdom.† Charles also received a despatch, in which,

* The fleet of the Prince of Orange, which harassed the Spanish and Portuguese commerce, was allowed to ride undisturbed in the vicinity of La Rochelle, which became a mart for its prizes.

† *Epist. Pii V. lib. v. ep. 17*, dated December 15, 1571.

among other matters, he was strongly urged to break off the treaty of marriage in progress between his sister and the Prince of Bearne. "Grieved am I," wrote the pontiff, "that their nuptials are so pressingly advanced, under an empty hope that the prince may become reconciled to the Catholic Church through the persuasion of his bride; when it is rather to be feared, on the other hand, that she may be perverted through her unbelieving husband. Her salvation, indeed, is exposed to hazard; for even if she should still wish to live as a Catholic, what peace, what repose can she expect with a heretic spouse? By conforming to his errors she may, perhaps, obtain a brief and delusive tranquillity during the present miserable life; but it will be purchased at the price of eternal damnation hereafter, and of interminable torments in Hell."*

In order powerfully to awaken these convictions in the bosom of the French king, the Cardinal Alessandrino,† legate in Spain and Portugal, was instructed to proceed to Blois; and during a conference held after his arrival, a memorable declaration fell from the lips of Charles, which affords conclusive evidence as to the preconcertment of the ensuing massacre. "You may assure his holiness," said the king, "as the event will prove, that my only object in concluding this marriage, is to avenge myself on God's enemies, and to chastise those great rebels."‡ No strength can be added to the deductions recently made from this most important fact, by one whose deep and overflowing knowledge of history, and

* *Id. lib. v. ep. 13*, dated January 25, 1572.

† Michael Bonelli, a nephew of Pius V., was born in the little village of Bosco, near Alessandria, from which city he derived the title by which he is best known, and in which he succeeded his uncle, *essendo la voce* (Alessandrino) *di miglior suono che 'l Bosco non era.*—Catena, *Vita di Pio V.* p. 13.

‡ *Rendete certo Pio me non par altro effetto voler concludere questo matrimonio col Navarra, che per prender vendetta de' nemici di Dio, et per gastigar tanti rebelli, si come il fine dimostrerà.*—*Vita di Pio V.* Roma. p. 197.

whose acuteness in the examination of conflicting testimony, qualify him beyond all others for the task which he has performed. It may perhaps, however have been too easily admitted that De Thou "disbelieved" the story. No expression so strong as that of *unbelief*, is, we think, to be found in the pages of that great historian. He tells us, indeed, that Italian writers are fond of vexatious refinements;* and then, on the authority of some of those writers, (one of whom, Catena, he specifies by name) he relates the anecdote which we are about to give below, without at all delivering his own opinion as to its credibility. But when De Thou wrote, the irrefragable evidence of D'Ossat, which we shall by-and-by subjoin, had not been published.

Catena was secretary to Cardinal Alessandrino, and afterward to Sixtus V. He published, in 1587, both at Rome and Mantua, a life of Pius V., profess- edly composed from oral communication with that Pope, and from the numerous state papers to which the author had ready access in consequence of his office. In that work he informs us, that when the Cardinal Alessandrino, during his mission to Blois, had advanced objections to the contemplated marriage, the king replied by an assurance, that upon that marriage the public peace was altogether suspended; and that when pressed to explain himself farther, he continued in the words which we have given above. The same anecdote had been told as a matter of triumphant boasting yet earlier, by Camillo Capilupi, nephew of a cardinal of that name, who wrote at Rome an apology for the St. Bartho-

* *Itali scriptores negotium facessunt*, li. 9.; and in the following chapter he relates the anecdote. Dr. Lingard has said, "Even De Thou finds it difficult to believe," (*Vindication*, p. 60.;) and the master of Dulwich College, receiving his antagonist's insinuation as if it were assertion, has given a reason for this imaginary unbelief. "The story was *disbelieved* by De Thou, because the correspondence of D'Ossat had not then been published."—*Reply to Lingard's Vindication*, p. 41.

lomew,* within a month after its occurrence. The work was submitted to the Cardinal of Lorraine, and received his approbation, but was suppressed for a time as not agreeing with the representations of the massacre which the court of France *ultimately* determined to circulate.

Never has any morsel of secret history received confirmation so remarkable and so incontestable as has fallen to the lot of this most damnatory fact. Seven-and-twenty years had elapsed since the massacre, when the Cardinal D'Ossat, the most sagacious diplomatist of his time, was engaged in negotiating with the court of Rome respecting the dissolution of marriage with Henry IV., for which Margaret of Valois had applied. In a conversation on that affair with Pope Clement VIII., (Aldobrandini,) the latter stated that he himself, having been auditor to Cardinal Alessandrino, and in personal attendance upon him at Blois, was well acquainted with the occurrences during that mission. It was universally known, he said, that Margaret was most reluctant to the match, and that she was sacrificed in order to forward her brother's political designs; and he added, that after frequent discussions, the king, on one occasion, taking Alessandrino by the hand, had addressed him thus: "My Lord Cardinal, all you have said is true, and I admit it to be so; and I am grateful both to the Pope and to you. If I had any other means of avenging myself on my enemies, I would not conclude this marriage; but in fact I have not any other means." Aldobrandini, deeply struck

* *Lo Stratagemma di Carlo IX. Re di Francia contra gli Ugonotti rebelli di Dio e suoi.* The dedication in the edition of 1574, bears date Oct. 22, 1572. The master of Dulwich College, who has seen the first edition, notices the date in *that* to be Sept. 18, of the same year. The words given to Charles by Capilupi are as follows: *quanto al matrimonio, gli pesava d'havere data già la parola sua al Re di Navarra, la quale non poteva con honor suo rompere: ch  ben assicurava la Santit  del Papa ch  il tutto si faceva con ottima intentione, e per servizio e per grandezza della Religione Catholica, come si conoscerebbe   gli effetti.*—p. 11.

by these words, committed them to writing at the moment; and he told D'Ossat that he could still find the memorandum among Alessandrino's papers. He added also, that when the cardinal, on his return to Italy, first received intelligence of the St. Bartholomew, he exclaimed, "God be praised! The King of France has kept his promise to me." D'Ossat, upon reporting this conversation with Clement VIII. to some of his friends in the sacred college, learned that the same fact had already been stated to them by the holy father himself in an early stage of the pending discussion; and thus fortified by the authority of the pontiff, the ambassador employed the communication, in the written argument upon the divorce of the queen which he delivered before the conclave.*

That the words which Clement VIII. repeated were almost, if not altogether, the very words employed by Charles, the carefulness with which the Pope had recorded them in writing, warrants us fully to believe. Their variation from those attributed to the king by Capilupi and by Catena, is in letter only, not in spirit; there is sufficient diversity to remove all suspicion of a common understanding for the propagation of imposture; sufficient agreement to corroborate the general truth of each separate writer. The expressions are too precise to have been used without a definite meaning; and if "the only inference" to be drawn from them is that Clement believed Charles to have "compelled the marriage under the expectation that it would give him the superiority, and allow him to punish those whom he considered as obstinate rebels;" if "this," as has been stated, "is all,"† Clement's measure of "pun-

* *Lettres D'Ossat*. Letter cxciv. à M. de Villeroy, tom. iii. p. 417. The words represented to be spoken by Charles are, *M. le Cardinal, tout ce que vous me dites est bon, je le reconnois, et en remercie le Pape et vous; et si j'avois quelque autre moyen de me venger de mes ennemis, je ne ferois point ce mariage: mais je n'en ai point d'autre moyen que celui-ci.*

† Dr. Lingard's *Vindication*, *Postscript*, p. 115. Anquetil, who had considered the St. Bartholomew at least with as much precision as

ishment" and estimate of "superiority" must have been gigantic indeed! "Vengeance" is a somewhat strong term for political ascendancy; it was *vengeance* which Charles promised, and it was by the massacre of St. Bartholomew that Clement acknowledged the promise to be fulfilled.

The sickness of his uncle, the Pope, recalled the Cardinal Alessandrino to Rome, where he arrived a few weeks before the decease of Pius. The election of a successor was too rapid to admit of the presence of the Cardinal of Lorraine, who hastened to attend the conclave; but he nevertheless proceeded onward to the Vatican, in order that he might communicate the secret intentions of the French cabinet to the new pontiff, Gregory XIII.* The known object of the legate's recent mission to Blois had deterred the Queen of Navarre, (whose consent to the marriage of her son had now been obtained,) from appearing at court till after the cardinal's departure. The king received her with tokens of esteem and attachment; affected to speak insultingly of the "monk" who had endeavoured to prevent the marriage, and whom he had treated as his impudence deserved; and assured her "that he was about to give his sister, not to the Prince of Navarre singly, but to all the Huguenots collectively; in order that they might receive her as a bride, and lay aside every doubt as to the immutable firmness of his edicts." Here, again, the hypocrite was precise in his choice of words; and carefully weighed the mixture of truth with which he "dashed and brewed" his duplicity. The queen's retinue was splendid; she was accompanied by the Prince of Condé, by Louis of Nassau, by the Count de la

Dr. Lingard, draws a widely different conclusion from the words to Alessandrino. *Si Charles IX. a tenu ce discours il meditoit certainement pour lors le Massacre de St. Barthelemy.—L'Esprit de la Ligue, ii. 14.*

* *Cum novo Pontifice de arcanis consiliis cum Reginâ Matre inita actus.—De Thou, li. 11.*

May 15. Rochefoucault, and a large train of Huguenot nobility; and when she proceeded to the capital to arrange the final preparations for the approaching nuptials, she took up her residence in the palace of Guillart, Ex-bishop of Chartres, who, having openly embraced the Reformed religion, had been degraded at Rome.

Even if the connexion about to be formed by their *protector* was disapproved by the Huguenot Church, its ministers discreetly abstained from any public expression of their dissent. In their VIIIth synod, held at Nismes on the 6th of May, we find an incidental order that "letters should be written unto her majesty, the Queen of Navarre, and to his highness, the prince her son;" and it is probable, although it is not so stated, that those letters were either monitory or congratulatory. The other proceedings of the synod were yet more than usually meagre. According to custom, a few troublesome matrimonial regulations were submitted to discussion; and a singular indulgence, as it seems to have been considered, was granted to doctors and professors of divinity. The question asked was, whether such persons "were not bound by the XVIIth canon of our discipline to put away their wives if guilty of adultery, or else to be deprived of their professorships in our schools and churches?" Unto which there was this answer returned, "That that canon did purely relate unto pastors, not unto professors; nor is there a parity of reason for the one as for the other. Ministers being public officers in the whole church, are to be exemplary in their persons and families for holiness, and therefore must not receive again an adulterous wife into their bosoms, which would be a scandal to the church. Moreover, professors of divinity are not to reprove and correct as pastors are; so that they may, if they please, pass by the wickedness of their wives, and notwithstanding their adultery, enjoy their professor's place among us, and not be deposed

from it." A denunciation of theatrical amusements was annexed also to the articles of discipline. "It shall not be lawful for the faithful to be present at stage-plays, comedies, tragedies, or farces; whether they be acted publicly or privately; because they have ever been condemned by God's ancient churches for corrupting of good manners; especially when as the Holy Scripture shall be profaned by them. But if a college judge it meet for their youth to represent any history not comprised in the sacred Scriptures, (which was never given us for our sport and pastime, but to be preached for our conversion and comfort,) and provided this be done very seldom, and by the advice of the colloquy, which shall first peruse the composition, it shall be tolerated."

The dark interior of the French court at this moment, its gross moral and political corruption, its fraudulence, its intrigues, and the just apprehensions which the Queen of Navarre entertained of the result of her pending negotiations, are vividly pictured in a letter addressed to Henry before she quitted Blois. The young prince had not March 8. accompanied his royal mother on her journey; and he was not likely to augur favourably of his future matrimonial happiness from the representations which she transmitted to him. After describing in language of more than ordinary strength the great "travail and extremity" which she endured from her present undertaking, she told him that it was conducted in a manner altogether contrary to her expectations, and to the promises with which she had been amused; that she was never allowed to converse privately with either the king or the Princess Margaret, but that the queen mother, who was all in all, used her very scurvily.* That the Duke of Anjou affected great intimacy with her, half bantering, as was his way, and half dissembling. The princess was to be seen only in the queen's apart-

* *A la fourche.*

ments, the most unfit place in the world, or else in her own chamber, at inconvenient hours, and in the presence of a governante; that in conversation she exhibited great reserve, mingled with general expressions of obedience and reverence both to her future mother and husband, in case they should ever assume those relations.

"Two or three times," continued this upright and noble-minded lady, "I have complained of this treatment to the queen mother, but she did nothing but rally me; and behind my back she makes me say quite the reverse of the real words with which I address her. I have been blamed by my friends for some speeches which in fact I never uttered; but how to give the lie to the queen I really know not; for when I tell her that people report that I have said so and so, although these reports proceed from herself, she denies them as she would do a murder, and laughs in my face. My usage, indeed, demands more than the patience of Griselda. — — —. When I have done with the queen, I have to talk with a crowd of Huguenots, who surround me more as spies than as assistants; and some of them are leading men, with whom I must either converse or quarrel. As for others who are not less troublesome, but are a sort of religious hermaphrodites,* I keep from them as much as possible. I cannot say I am without counsellors, for every body gives me advice; although no two of them agree together."

She then expressed a wish for the arrival of her chancellor and some discreet ministers for whom she had sent; and almost prophetically anticipated sickness from the mental agitation by which her health was even at that time affected. She described the princess as handsome, sensible, and genteel, but bred up in the most wicked and corrupt society in the world, by the contagion of which every one was

* *Qui sont Hermaphrodites Religieux.*

tainted.* Bad as she had thought the court, she had found it much worse in reality; and grieved and shocked was she to add, that not the men, but the women, were the first tempters. "My son," she concluded, "you have rightly judged from my former letters, that their great endeavour is to separate you from me and from God; and this new account will corroborate your opinion, and show you the anxiety which I am enduring for your sake. Pray earnestly to God, whose assistance you need at all times, but especially at the present. And I too will add my fervent prayer that he will grant you all your just desires." In a short postscript she mentioned that at length she had found an opportunity of conversing with the princess, who had expressed herself somewhat absolutely on religion; affirming that she was much attached to the Romish faith, as those who had proposed the match very well knew. The Queen of Navarre replied, that she had been told otherwise, insomuch that she had been led to believe there was some inclination towards Protestantism. Then drawing a just conclusion from all this juggling, she added, "I have never seen her so peremptory before, and I do believe that she speaks just what she is tutored to say, and that all we have been informed concerning her favourable view of our faith, has been invented only to entrap us!"†

Within three weeks after her arrival in Paris, this great, wise, and virtuous woman, was no more. Her death was attributed by some to a fever, by others to poison. Those who held the latter opinion named Catherine as the authoress of the crime; her perfumer, René,‡ of Milan, as the agent; and a pair of

* *Elle est belle, et bien avisée, et de bonne grace, mais nourrie en la plus maudite et corrompue compagnie que fut jamais, car je n'en voy point que ne s'en sente.*

† The whole letter is given in the *Additions aux Mém. de Castelnau*, tom. i. p. 856.

‡ The greater portion of sudden deaths among the leading personages of the time was attributed to Maître René, who was considered the official court-poisoner, and of whom it has been somewhat

medicated gloves as the instrument. The body, on being opened, exhibited an abscess in the lungs, which the physicians recorded as the proximate cause of death; but it is added by De Thou, that, notwithstanding the king's express orders, they forebore from examining the head, the only part which, if foul play had really occurred, would have given conclusive evidence of the crime.* The Queen of Navarre died at a critical moment, and the suspicion that her days were unduly shortened, is unhappily not rebutted by the character of any one of those to whom her decease proved advantageous. Catherine herself appears to have been perplexed by her sagacity, "How shall I read this queen?" she one day asked Tavannes. "Madam," replied that keen observer of human nature, "both of you are women; put her in a passion, and keep your own temper."† By her constant and familiar access to the court circle, she might have made discoveries unfavourable to the embryo plot; and if *open* violence were hereafter attempted against her, it would not easily find an apology deserving of credit. It cannot be doubted that it was designed to throw the odium of the admiral's murder upon the acknowledged enmity borne against him by the Guises; but as no similar excuse could gloss over the assassination of the Queen of Navarre, it was necessary that her removal should be secret.

Jeanne, daughter of Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, and of Margaret of Valois, sister of Francis I., possessed moral and intellectual excellencies, which, in any age, would have entitled her to distinction; but which stand out in singular and most prominent contrast with the habits of those evil times upon which it was her lot to be cast. She was

naively observed, that it is scarcely possible to believe *all* the murders in which he was said to be concerned; but that if he had committed only a quarter of them, he was a most consummate villain. Note on the *Discours merveilleux de Catherine de Medicis*; *Journal d'Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 337.

* li. 14. † *Mém. de Tavannes*, 376.

not only a patroness of letters, but was herself also skilled in literature. Latin and Spanish were among the tongues which she spoke fluently, and her pen, whenever she had occasion to employ it, was that of a ready writer.* Her court was ever open to men of learning, whose talents she more especially directed into holy channels. Having early embraced the Reformed religion, she spared no pains to establish it in her dominions. By her zeal and energy, the patois of Biscay, a language before unwritten, and scarcely understood beyond the immediate limits of the province in which it was spoken, became a vehicle in which sacred truths were conveyed to her subjects; and the versions of the New Testament, and of the Genevan catechism and prayers, printed under her orders at La Rochelle, are ever-during monuments of her wisdom and her piety. Her more than female courage has been often evinced in the course of the preceding narrative; and one other example of it, although not immediately arising out of our story, is too remarkable to be passed in silence. Her first two children by Antony of Bourbon died in infancy; and as the time of her delivery of Henry of Bearne and Navarre approached, the king her father promised that he would gratify a wish she had often expressed, and submit his will to her perusal, provided she would sing during the pangs of travail. "I would not have you bear a crabbed-tempered whimperer," was the reason which the old man assigned for this unusual request. Her labour was severe; nevertheless, when she heard her father's step entering the chamber, she mastered every feeling of pain, and raising her voice com-

* Besides the letters which we have noticed above to her son and to the Cardinal d'Armagnac, the following extemporary quatrain is preserved, printed from her dictation when she visited the press of Robert Stephens:—

*Art singulier, d'icy aux derniers ans,
Représentez aux enfans de ma race
Que j'ai suivi des craignans Dieu la trace,
Afin qu'ils soient les mêmes pas suivans.*

menced and finished a Bearnese Hymn to the Virgin, well adapted to her condition ;

*Noste Donne deou cap deou pon
Adjouda me en aqueste heure ! &c.**

The boy, as if partaking of his mother's noble spirit, is said not to have cried at the moment of his birth ; and the grandfather, claiming him as his own, wrapped him in his cloak, and rubbed his lips with wine and a clove of garlic ; an infallible recipe, as the gossips taught, for producing manliness and vigour of constitution.†

The Queen of Navarre died in her forty-fourth year : and the provisions in the will made on her death-bed, amply evinced the constancy of her attachment to that church, of which, during life, she had ever shown herself the nursing mother. She exhorted her son to abide unshaken in the faith which he had been taught ; to shun the vices and disorders of the court, and to preserve with exactitude the religious laws and constitutions which she had framed for his subjects. She entreated him to cherish his sister with gentleness and affection ; to watch over her education in the Reformed principles ; and at a fitting age, to espouse her to some Protestant prince of a rank equal to her own ; and lastly, although perhaps with slender confidence that her request would be granted, she besought the king, the queen mother, and the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon, to receive the prince and princess her children, under their protection, and to secure to them the free exercise of their religion.

On the death of his mother, Henry assumed the title of King of Navarre ; and the arrangements for his marriage proceeded rapidly. The Duke of Guise had quitted court some time before, in seeming disgust at the confidence which the king reposed in the

* Our lady at the bridge's end
Help in this hour of trouble send.

† Prefixe, p. 16. Peter the Great is said to have disciplined the infant Czarowitz in a somewhat similar manner.

admiral. The Cardinal of Lorraine still continued at Rome, under the pretext of soliciting the Papal dispensation; and it appeared as if the palace had been cleared of the chief members of the hostile faction, expressly for the reception of the Huguenots, now basking in royal favour. During the absence of the admiral, Charles maintained a correspondence with him by letter; and he wrote in terms of great affection and earnestness, representing that the marriage was fixed for the middle of August, and that however brilliant would be the company assembled at its solemnization, Coligny's attendance was indispensable to render the festivity complete. Although the Huguenots, for the most part, eagerly surrendered themselves to a willing belief in these fair appearances, and dismissed with too little discretion all misgiving of the sincerity of the court, there were still some among them in whom the marks of attachment, thus ostentatiously lavished on their chiefs, awakened suspicion; and notwithstanding the caution exercised by their enemies, signs were not wanting which corroborated this jealousy. An order was issued in Paris commanding every stranger, on pain of death, to quit the city and its suburbs, in four-and-twenty hours after a fixed day, unless he were engaged in necessary business, or attached to the suite of some personage in attendance upon the court. Extraordinary pains were taken to give publicity to this remarkable mandate; it was proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet for three days successively; and it was read weekly in the churches before the celebration of mass. The king's body-guard also was strengthened by a reinforcement of four thousand picked men.* When the attention of Coligny was forcibly drawn by some of his confidential friends to these unusual measures, and it was argued that the exclusion from the capital of all who were not under the immediate *surveillance*

* De Thou, ii. 1.

of the government, and the occupation of it by so large a military force, proved the existence of some ulterior and sinister design, he treated their conjectures lightly, and reproached them with entertaining thoughts injurious to the paternal care of the authorities, who were, in truth, carefully providing for public tranquillity during a season of popular license.

Five years before, when after the peace of 1567, the king had, in like manner, urged Coligny to present himself at court, he wisely avoided the snare; by answering that France should not supply an Egmont or a Horn,*—the unhappy victims of Spanish faithlessness and despotism, whose bloody fate was still fresh in remembrance. The remark of Pasquier, who furnishes this anecdote, in spite of some tinge of fatalism, is distinguished by a degree of sagacity which might almost persuade us that it was written *after*, rather than *before* the catastrophe to which it must now be referred; yet nothing is more certain than that it belongs to a familiar epistolary correspondence at the moment of the admiral's refusal. "When our hour is not yet come, God permits us to be discreet and on our guard against the pitfalls which beset us; but when it *is* come, we ourselves, of our own accord, so carelessly encounter perils, that we outrun the hopes of the very traitors who are compassing our destruction."

That much apprehension existed at this season in places remote from the capital, and that it had extended itself even to the inferior classes, is plain from an incident which Pierre l'Estoile relates on the authority of an eye-witness. When the admiral was preparing to quit Châtillon, a peasant woman belonging to his estate seized his stirrup as he was in the act of mounting his horse; and clasping his knees, besought him with prayers and tears not to

* It is not quite easy at first sight to recognise these injured names under the disguise with which they are invested by Pasquier. *La France ne portoit point des Comtes d'Aiguemont et Ducs d'Orne, dont la mémoire estoit encore toute sanglante.*—*Lettres*, liv. v. p. 272.

put his design in execution. "Ah, my good master!" were her impassioned words, "never again shall we see you if you go to Paris;—you, and all those who accompany you, will assuredly die. If you have no regard for yourself, at least have pity upon madame and your children, and the many people of consideration who will perish on your account!" Coligny, gently disengaging himself, remonstrated against the indiscretion of his mistress; but unchecked by his rebuke, she threw herself at the feet of the Lady of Châtillon, and importunately renewed her suit, "If he goes to Paris, he will never return, and he will occasion the death of more than ten thousand others!"*

Nor were these friendly warnings discontinued on Coligny's arrival in Paris. Among other papers, an elaborate letter was placed in his hands reminding him of the decree, now admitted as a general maxim by the Romanists, that faith was not to be kept with heretics; that the remembrance of former hostility might be smothered, but could not be extinguished; that the queen mother, a foreigner, an Italian, a Florentine, and of Papal extraction, was gifted with both natural and hereditary powers of dissimulation, and never relaxed from her fixed purpose of vengeance upon those whom she once hated; that the king, from his tenderest youth, had been nurtured in her school; that blasphemy, execration, and perjury, had formed systematic parts of his education;†

* *Entendu de la bouche d'un qui l'a vû et ouy.*—*Journal d'Henri III.* i. 43.

† Perron, the Maréchal de Retz, to whom Henry II. intrusted the charge of his children's education, is said to have taught Charles IX. the art of swearing. This well-selected tutor is described by Brantome to have been *le plus grand renyeur de Dieu, de sang froid, qu'on peut voir . . . qui juroit et renyoit en sergent qui prend le pauvre homme pour le colet qui ne se defend.* His success was proportionate to his attainments. *Si bien que le Roy apprit de luy ce vice, et s'y accoutuma si fort qu'il tenoit que jurer et blasphemer étoit une forme de parole et devis plus de braveté et de gentillesse que de peché. A cause de quoy il ne faisoit point de difficulté de fausser sa foy toutesfois et quantes qu'il vouloit et luy venoit en fantaisie.* *Discours*, lxxxviii. tom. vii. p. 203. It should be remembered, that Brantome is a professed eulogist of Charles, whom he calls *un Roy fort parfait et universel.*—*Ibid.* 225.

that he had been habituated to perfidy, even from his mother's breast; that a naturally ferocious disposition had been encouraged by addiction to cruel pastimes, in which his chief delight was to imbrue his hands in the blood of unoffending animals; and that pains had been taken to saturate him with the Machiavellian doctrine, that no religion but that professed by the government should be tolerated in any well-arranged polity. These and many similar arguments were read by Coligny not without some tokens of indignation. He professed implicit confidence in the promises of his sovereign; and declared that so many years of his long life had been harassed by alarms, that now he would rather be dragged by a hook through the streets of Paris, than have recourse again to civil war for his protection. That the king was the best king with whom France had been blessed for centuries; the Duke of Anjou, indeed, might not be so well inclined to the Huguenots; but that even *his* hostility would cease when the interests of the opposing parties had once become cemented by the completion of the approaching marriage. His personal safety he felt to be guaranteed by the royal word; since the king had demanded that himself and the Duke of Guise, (who had now returned to court, and who was the only enemy from whom he could apprehend outrage,) should mutually pledge themselves that for the future they would consider all past wrongs as obliterated. Then expressing his confident hope, that Charles having established peace at home, would direct his arms against Spain in the Netherlands, (the lure which had been most successful to ensnare him,) he entreated his friends to discard these unjust suspicions; and to join with himself in earnest prayer to God, that He would bring to conclusion an arrangement thus happily commenced for the prosperity both of the kingdom and of the church.

Similar attempts to inspire the King of Navarre

with suspicion were equally unsuccessful, and at the commencement of August he also arrived in Paris, where he was either awaited or joined by the noblest members of his religion. We read of only two personages whose better stars or keener judgment withdrew them, in good season, from danger. Francis Montmorency had just returned from an embassy to England, and under the plea of illness after his voyage,* he retired to Chantillon, leaving his three brothers at court. Of the motive which induced the absence of the Sieur de Langoiran we have greater certainty; he told the admiral at parting, that he did not like so much caressing, and that he had rather save his life with fools, than loose it with the wise.

All things were now ready for the marriage, with the exception of the most important preliminary, the Papal dispensation; and Charles was well aware, by despatches from his ambassador at Rome, that this instrument would never be granted, unless on terms which the King of Navarre would peremptorily refuse. At first he swore roundly that he would dispense by his own power with all laws affirmed either by the Pope or by religion, and that in case of difficulty, he would himself perform the marriage.† In the end, however, in order to silence any scruples which the Cardinal of Bourbon might feel in solemnizing the nuptials without the bull, the king exhibited a forged letter from his envoy, notifying that the Pope had accorded the desired permission which would be speedily forwarded in due form. That Catherine was privy to this singular imposture can be little doubted; but Charles claimed merit with the admiral, to whom he communicated the fraud, for having deceived his mother and sister, as well as the cardinal; and he adduced it as evidence of

* De Thou, lii. 2. In the *Mém. d'Etat*, i. 195, he is said to have joined a hunting party.

† *Mém. d'Etat*, i. 133.

the great interest which he felt in the welfare of the Huguenots *

On the 18th of August, the royal cortège escorted the bride with great pomp to the choir of St. Denis, where the bridegroom, attended by a magnificent retinue, led her to the high altar, and withdrew during the performance of mass. The marriage service was then read, according to a form mutually approved, on a lofty scaffolding raised before the portal of the cathedral, in the full view of the populace;† and Davila informs us that the bride exhibited a petulant disgust sufficiently portending future nuptial unhappiness. When asked if she accepted Henry as her husband, she obstinately refused to answer. Not a word could be extorted from her lips; and Charles at length placing his hand at the back of her head bowed it forward in token of assent.‡ De Thou, at that time a youth studying the law, gained admission into the choir, immediately after the ceremony, and fixed his gaze with eagerness upon the admiral, who was conversing with the Maréchal de Danville. The former, after regarding some banners suspended in the church, sad memorials to his eyes of the defeats at Bassac and Moncontour, expressed a hope that they would soon be replaced by more grateful trophies. The dream of war with Spain in the Netherlands, so long and ardently cherished, and now so confidently believed to be near its completion, was doubtless present to the veteran's imagination as he spoke; and when we call to mind the events which a few more hours were to bring forth, the anecdote

* Capilupi, *Lo Stratagema*, p. 23. De Thou gives little credit to the story: *quod plerique putant commentum a Capilupo inventum*, liii. 4. The master of Dulwich College, however, has shown that it is fully confirmed by a despatch from Charles to M. de Ferrals, his ambassador at Rome, still preserved among the MSS. of the *Bibliothèque du Roy*. Desmesmes, 267. Reg. $\frac{8677}{2}$. Reply to Dr. Lingard's *Vindication*, p. 49. In the *Discours Merveilleux*, the fraud is altogether charged on Catherine.—*Journal d'Henri III.* tom. ii. p. 376.

† *Mem. d'Etat*, i. 190.

‡ Vol. i. lib. v. p. 291.

is among the most striking and dramatic which distinguish that memorable time. The words of the admiral were eagerly caught by other ears besides those of De Thou; and they were afterward tortured by political rancour into an allusion to an intended renewal of civil conflict. Such a thought, it may be safely averred, was the last which would be entertained by Coligny in his present temper and circumstances; and assuredly if it had been entertained, it was the last to which he would have given a loose and incautious utterance.*

The festivities in honour of the marriage were continued during the week which followed its solemnization, and in one of the spectacles, a masque exhibited in the Bourbon palace, Aug. 20. near the Louvre, it seems as if the court intended to allegorize in grim sportiveness its unrelenting enmity against the Huguenots, at the very moment in which it was preparing to enact in reality unprecedented deeds of horror. On the right of the stage erected on this occasion, was represented Paradise, guarded by the three royal brothers armed in complete mail; and by a confusion of Christian with mythological images not unusual at the time, the Elysian fields were painted as its back-ground. A verdant garden, enanielled with various flowers, formed the abode of the blessed: and it revolved on a huge wheel, representing the Empyréan, in which the twelve signs, the seven planets, and unnumbered smaller stars, were illuminated by lamps and flambeaux disposed with much art behind. Twelve nymphs, in rich attire, reposed in these happy bowers. A river, on which Charon navigated his bark, formed the boundary of Elysium, and separated it from Tartarus, which occupied the left division of

* De Thou, lii. 2. In a letter to his wife, (the last probably which he ever wrote,) dated August 18, and preserved in the *Mémoires d'Etat*, (i. 191.) Coligny's expressions are most pacific. *Soyez assurée de ma part que parmi ces festins et passetems je ne donneray fastidie à personne.*

the stage. There also was a wheel, hoarsely clanging with innumerable bells, as it moved round; and the fiery realms were abundantly stocked with devils and devilings,* playing antic gambols, and uttering discordant noises. Scattered about were many troops of knights errant, headed by the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and other great lords, who made an assault upon Elysium in order to obtain the company of its nymphs; and who, having broken their lances against its guardians, were driven back by sword-strokes into the abyss of Tartarus. The victorious brothers were then poetically addressed by Mercury and Cupid, who descended from the clouds for that purpose; and a dance with the nymphs succeeded in reward of their valour. More than an hour was passed in various choric exhibitions of grace and agility, to the great contentment of the beholders; after which the gates of Tartarus were unbarred, and the prisoners being released, once again shivered their lances and fought in *melée*. As a finale, a train of fireworks exploded round a fountain in the centre of the stage, very much to the surprise, and perhaps somewhat to the confusion of the assembled company. "Such," adds one of the narrators, who probably was an eye-witness, "was the pastime of that day, from which you may well conjecture what were the thoughts of the king and of his secret council amid these counterfeittings."†

Meantime a strong additional body of troops advanced towards Paris; and in order to prevent any suspicion which might arise from their entrance into the capital, the king artfully stated to Coligny that he was by no means satisfied that the Duke of Guise was sincere in his promise of reconciliation. "Father"—such was the endearing title with which the arch-dissembler addressed the confiding veteran

* *Un gran nombre des Diables et pets Diabloteaux faisans infinies singeries et tintamares.*

† *Mém. d'Etat*, i. 194. De Thou, lii. 2.

—"Father, upon *your* word I rely with implicit confidence, but not so upon that of the Guises. I know their pride, their desire of revenge, and their ambition, and moreover how much they have courted and obtained popularity in this great city. Grieved indeed should I be if any trouble were to result to you from the powerful retinue of armed men which they have brought with them under pretext of swelling the pomp of these nuptials; for an injury to you would be felt by me as if offered to myself. With your privity and consent, therefore, I shall gladly quarter a regiment of my own guards within the walls, who may secure the public peace, and be at hand on the slightest appearance of tumult." He concluded by naming certain officers as commanders, whom he knew to be acceptable to Coligny. This smooth representation by the royal hypocrite produced its desired effect; twelve hundred harquebussiers were distributed in various districts of the city; the admiral highly approved the precautionary measure; assisted in leading his friends into a deception similar to that by which himself had been entrapped; and spoke of the introduction of their future assassins as a fresh instance of the wise vigilance and affectionate solicitude of the king.*

On the morning of the Friday after the marriage, Coligny having transacted business with the Duke of Anjou in the Louvre, afterward accompanied the king to the tennis court of the palace. There, Charles engaged in a match with the Duke of Guise against Louis de Teligny, the admiral's son-in-law, and another gentleman; and Coligny, after looking on for a short time, withdrew to dinner, accompanied by about a dozen friends. As he passed on foot through the Rue des Fossés St. Germain, on his way to his own abode, afterward known as the hotel St. Pierre, in the Rue de Bétizy, he was occupied in reading a paper which had been put into his hands,

* De Thou, lii. 3.

perhaps with the design of slackening his pace. At a spot scarcely a hundred yards from the Louvre, and opposite a house belonging to the Canon de Villemur, formerly tutor to the Duke of Guise, the report of fire-arms was heard, and the admiral was struck by two bullets; one burying itself very deeply in his left arm, the other shattering the fore finger of his right hand. Without any change of countenance, he pointed to the house from which the shots had been discharged; requested some of his attendants to inform the king of the occurrence, and with the assistance of his servants, walked on to his hotel, which was but a few paces distant. To some one who expressed a hope that the bullets might not have been poisoned, he tranquilly replied, "God's will be done!"

The doors of the suspected house were immediately forced, and in a chamber on the ground floor was found a harquebuss recently discharged. The window from which the assassin had taken aim was grated, and a sheet had been suspended before it, more effectually to conceal his person. The only individuals discovered within were a woman servant and a foot-boy. From the woman's evidence, it appeared that, a few days previously, De Chailly, a former retainer of the Duke of Guise, and at that time maitre d'hotel to the king, had introduced a military man to the Canon de Villemur as his especial friend; and that Villemur, in consequence, had hospitably entertained his guest, sharing with him his chamber and his bed. The real name of the new lodger, it was supposed, had been purposely concealed; but the boy, who had not been long engaged in his service, said that he sometimes called himself Bolland, sometimes Bondot; professed to be one of the archers of the king's guard; and had despatched a message very early that morning to De Chailly, desiring that the horses which had been promised him might be in readiness. It was soon ascertained that he had sprung upon a horse waiting for him at a back

passage leading into the cloister of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois; had ridden at full speed to the gate of St. Antoine, and there mounting a second horse, had disappeared before any alarm could be given.

The assassin, however, notwithstanding his escape, was speedily identified as a well known infamous character, François de Louviers Maurevel. Little doubt seems to have been entertained, even at the moment, that he had been employed by the queen mother and the Duke of Anjou; and if the confession, subsequently made by the latter, is to be received as genuine, (an admission which has for the most part been tacitly granted,) he was selected by them "as the fittest instrument for their purpose, because he was already much exercised and experienced in murder."* Even during his education as a page in the household of the Duke of Guise, Maurevel had evinced an early propensity to blood-shedding. The tutor of the noble youths in whose society he was instructed, had chastised him for some very heavy offence, and Maurevel having in revenge waylaid and killed him, fled to the Spanish army at that time in motion against France. On the conclusion of peace he found means to become reconciled to his early patron, in whose family he remained till the price set upon the admiral's head by the parliament of Paris, during the second civil war, induced him to volunteer his services as agent of its vengeance. Having first stipulated for, and received his wages of crime, he passed over to the Huguenots; and insinuated himself into the confidence of their chiefs, partly by feigning deep resentment against the Guises for some pretended injury, partly by affecting great zeal and precision in his religious observances. Opportunity, however, seems to have failed him for the execution of the greater enterprise which he had undertaken;

* *Come d'un instrument plus propre et desja pratiqué et expérimenté à l'assassinat.—Discours du Roy Henri III. à un personnage d'honneur et de qualité estant près de sa Majesté à Cracovie, des causes et motifs de la Saint Barthelemy.—Suite de Mem. d'Estat de Villeroy, ii. 65.*

and despairing of success, and perhaps having excited suspicion, he was content to aim at an inferior mark. One of the officers, with whom he had contracted most intimacy, arising out of a former acquaintance, was Arthur de Vaudray, Lord of Mouy; a tried soldier of distinguished bravery, who then held very high command in the admiral's army. To Maurevel, during his abode in the Huguenot quarters, De Mouy had shown especial marks of kindness and generosity; but the traitor, unmoved by any compunctious visiting, found means of perpetrating his base design, mortally wounded De Mouy, and owed his escape to the fleetness of a horse, recently presented to him by his murdered benefactor. Profiting by his infamy, he appears afterward to have been retained almost as the acknowledged court assassin; and Brantome speaks of him as familiarly known by the title of "the king's bravo."* One of the chief inducements held out by the Duke of Anjou, when exciting this wretch to the perpetration of his new crime, was the certainty that the admiral would avenge the assassination of the Lord of Mouy, if Maurevel should ever fall into his power; and that his own safety, therefore, demanded the removal of his most notorious enemy.

From the Duke of Anjou's confession, of which we shall presently speak more at length, we learn the motives which he thought fit to avow for this foul assassination, and they exhibit a most fearful recklessness of crime. The queen mother and himself, he says, perceived a manifest change in the king's manner after every private audience which he granted to Coligny. On one occasion the duke found his royal brother in so violent a paroxysm of fury, handling his dagger and using menacing gestures as he paced the apartment with troubled steps, that he was glad to escape from his presence; and it was then, after advising with Catherine, that they

* *Le Tueur aux gages du Roy — Discours, lxxix. tom. vi. p. 298.*

jointly resolved upon the murder, as the sole means of preventing the utter overthrow of their power. They first applied to a Gascon captain, without naming the person whom he was to remove; but the avidity with which the bravo caught at the engagement, and his total want of forethought, satisfied them at once that he was not adapted to their purpose. "As a *matter of sport*," says Henry, "we made him show us the method in which he would undertake the attack, and having well weighed his movements, his words, and his looks, *all of which made us laugh heartily, and were exceeding good pastime*,"* we determined that, although brave and fearless, he was too hot-headed to undertake any enterprise which required much prudence and discretion in its execution." Maurevel was of soberer temperament; better disciplined in the rules of his art; more expert in its practice; and to him accordingly the nefarious commission was intrusted.†

The king was still engaged at tennis when he received the announcement of the attempt upon the admiral; on hearing it, he dashed his racquet violently to the ground, and retired to the palace, exclaiming, "Shall I never have any rest! Are there always to be new troubles!" The King of Navarre

* *Que fut cause que par maniere de jeu nous luy fismes monstrer le moyen qu'il tiendroît pour attaquer celuy que nous desirions; et Payans bien considéré et tous ses mouvemens, sa parole, et ses contenance, qui nous avoient faict rire et donné du passetems, &c.—Discours du Roy Henry III. ut sup.*

† In the *Mém. d'Estat*, ii. 217, Maurevel's ill-favoured physiognomy is said on one occasion to have betrayed him. He accompanied the Maréchal de Retz on an embassy to England in the year following the St. Bartholomew; and on arriving at the court at Greenwich, the page of an English nobleman exclaimed at once, "that is the assassin of the admiral!" At the words, a shout was raised, and Maurevel was pursued with execrations by the rabble, so that he never dared show himself abroad while Queen Elizabeth remained at Greenwich. In 1574, we hear of him as employed in an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate La Noue and some other Huguenots of distinction. Four years afterward, he lost an arm in an affray with one of his own relations in the streets of Paris; and in 1583, he met his deserved fate, in the same city, at the hands of a son of the murdered De Mouy, whose own life, however, was sacrificed in avenging his father.—*Journal d'Henri III.* i. 395.

and the Prince of Condé instantly repaired to their wounded friend, whom they found under the surgeon's hands. Turning to Le Mou, a minister belonging to the service of the late Queen Jeanne d'Albret, he expressed himself satisfied with the manifestation of love which it had pleased God to grant, by suffering him to be thus wounded for His name's sake; and he then fervently prayed that he might never forget the numerous mercies which had been vouchsafed him. An immediate amputation of the shattered finger was considered necessary, and the patient's agony was greatly increased by the bluntness of the operator's instruments. Ambrose Paré, the king's body-surgeon, the ablest practitioner of his time, and an avowed and sincere Huguenot, was obliged to open and close his scissors thrice, before the joint was completely severed; yet, during the acute pain occasioned by this protracted torture, not a complaint escaped the sufferer's lips. While his left arm was being probed, Merlin, his own chaplain, read to him some consolatory passages from Scripture; and Coligny, ejaculating in return, "My God, abandon me not in this so great trouble, nor let Thy mercy forsake me!" whispered to one of the assistants who supported the bleeding limb, an order that one hundred pieces of gold should be given to Merlin for distribution among the poor of his congregation.*

The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, having discharged this first duty, returned to the palace; and demanding audience of Charles, besought his permission for themselves and their followers to retire from the capital, in which farther abode was manifestly hazardous. The king in return, protested with many and vehement oaths, as was his wont, that he was not less aggrieved than

* De Thou, lii. 5, where he states that he had often heard this account, in the very words, in which he delivers it from Paré himself.

themselves by the late murderous outrage; that he would omit no means in his power to discover and to punish the assassin, his employers, and all who were acquainted with the plot, so as to give ample satisfaction to Coligny and his friends, and to deter their enemies from any similar violence for the future. In conclusion, he expressed his earnest wish that they would remain in Paris to witness the execution of this promise. Catherine, who was present, added farther protestations of sorrow; affirmed that she did not believe the king himself could now sleep securely, even in the Louvre; that he might be poniarded on that very day in her own arms; and that there was the most urgent necessity for strict search after the murderer. For that purpose it was ordered that the city gates should be closed, and vigilantly guarded. It was indeed no small part of the royal policy to forbid egress at this moment. With the princes, Charles had succeeded; they were deceived by his feigned interest in their misfortune, and they abandoned all thoughts of departure; but there were others who might possess greater foresight, against whose retreat it was not less necessary to provide.

Scarcely was this conversation finished before Charles received a message from the admiral, entreating that he would honour him with a visit; for that there were matters touching the welfare and dignity of the crown which he wished to communicate to his private ear, and which he well knew no other person would venture to deliver. When the friends who bore the request to the king had quitted the wounded veteran's couch, the Maréchal de Cossé was the only person, excepting the medical attendants, who remained; and Coligny, regarding him significantly, inquired if he remembered a caution which he had given him but a few hours before. "If you are wise you will be wary." The words, says De Thou, were not understood by all; and they were

perhaps interrupted by the entrance of the royal party.

By far the most graphic account of the interview which followed, is contained in a document which we have before mentioned; "A narrative of the causes and motives of the St. Bartholomew," said to have been dictated by Henry III. during the horrors of a sleepless night at Cracow, to a "gentleman of honour and of quality in near attendance on his majesty's person." It is by no means necessary that we should here moot the question concerning the authenticity of that discourse. Even if we were certain that it proceeded from the lips of Henry, no one but a blind or a designing partisan would cite it as a true representation either of the motives or the facts of the St. Bartholomew itself. It must be received altogether as the apology of the great criminal by whom it was delivered; as a defence in which, if the particulars are not positively falsified, they are no doubt exhibited in the most favourable light, and tinged with the least sombre colouring. The passage, however, which we shall quote, relates to circumstances which Henry could have little interest in falsifying; although more minute and dramatic than other accounts, it is for the most part in unison with them; and we think it bears strong internal evidence of having been derived, if not from its professed author, at least from one who had either witnessed the interview, or had obtained intimate knowledge of it from an actual bystander.

"When the king, after dinner, expressed his intention of visiting the admiral, the queen my mother and myself determined to accompany him. We found Coligny in bed, sorely wounded; and after we had given him good hopes of recovery, urged him to keep up his spirits, and added every assurance of strict justice being executed upon the assassin and his employers, (to all which he answered briefly,) he expressed a wish for some private conversation with

the king. The king accordingly made a sign for the queen my mother and myself to give place ; and we stepped back into the middle of the chamber. There we staid during this secret parley, not without great misgiving of its purport ; and yet more so when we observed that we were in the midst of more than two hundred gentlemen of the admiral's faction, who were either in the very apartment, in one adjoining, or on the ground floor. Their mien was gloomy, their faces and gestures were full of discontent, they whispered frequently to each other, passing and re-passing continually before and behind us, with little tokens of becoming respect ; and, as it appeared to us, not without expressing some suspicion that we were concerned in the admiral's injury. Be this as it may, such was our belief ; although perhaps we examined their demeanour somewhat too narrowly. We were in truth thunder-struck and terrified at finding ourselves thus enclosed ; and as the queen my mother has since oftentimes told me, she had never before been in any place which occasioned her more fear, and which she quitted more to her heart's content. These apprehensions made us interrupt the admiral's speech to the king ; and the queen my mother finding a plausible excuse, expressed a fear that too long talking might be hurtful to the weak state of the patient, and that the king had better postpone the remainder of the conversation till Coligny had recovered greater bodily strength. The king seemed much vexed at this interference, as if he very much wished to hear whatever more the admiral had to say ; but unable to combat our representation, he withdrew with us from the chamber. The queen my mother then pressed him with great earnestness to repeat the heads of his late conversation ; but for a long time he peremptorily refused, till at last, overcome by importunity, and more to get rid of the matter than on any

other account,* he burst out in a quick and angry tone: 'Sdeath, madam, what the admiral said is true enough; that no one can be King of France unless he has the power of doing good or ill to his subjects; and that this power, and indeed the management of the whole state, has slipped out of my hands into yours; whose control and superintendence I shall one day find to be most calamitous to myself and to my kingdom. All this he bade me observe and guard against; and as one of my best and most faithful subjects and servants, he was anxious thus to advise me before his death. By the God that made me, madam, since you are resolved upon hearing it, this is what the admiral said to me.' "

A few other particulars are noticed in the *Mémoires d'Etat*, and the writer of that portion to which we refer, (whom from his own account we suppose to be the Chaplain Merlin,) evidently intends to represent himself as present at this interview. The king, he remarks, in the first instance ordered all Coligny's domestics to quit the chamber; retaining only Teligny and his lady, and "that person," (meaning himself,) "who escaped the massacre, who assisted the admiral at the time, and who took especial note of all that was said and done, being always close to his person." But the long speeches which he begins by reporting, are too elaborate to have been either delivered under the circumstances or remembered afterward; and it is to minor particulars that we attach greater credit. Charles and the queen mother, he says, at one time came so near the admiral, and talked together in so low a tone, that although the writer was close to the bedside, he overheard no more than Catherine's last words, "Though I am but a woman, I think it should be looked to in good season." The Maréchal de Retz, who stood apart during the above scene, proposed to Teligny and Cornaton, and urged his proposal with

* *Per maniere d'acquit.*

much earnestness, that the admiral should be removed to the Louvre as a protection against the menaced violence of the Parisian rabble. So eagerly did he press this advice, as to suggest that the chamber of the Princess Catherine of Navarre should be prepared for his reception; and that the princess herself should be lodged in the apartment of the bride her sister. The physicians, however, objected to the risk of moving the patient so soon after his hurt, and the design was consequently abandoned.* Before Charles left the room, he expressed a wish to see the bullet, which was of brass; and he particularly inquired whether the admiral had suffered much pain during its extraction, and from the amputation of his finger. The handkerchief of Cornaton, who showed the ball, and who had supported Coligny during the operation, was still covered with blood, and the king observing it, asked if it were the admiral's blood, and if much had been lost by him? adding that he had never seen a man of more noble or constant spirit. When the queen looked at the bullet, she testified cordial pleasure that it had been extracted; for that when the Duke of Guise was shot at Orleans, the surgeons had assured her that even if the ball were poisoned, all danger was at an end when it was once removed from the wound. This oblique inquiry was adroit, and the murderess must have been disappointed when Cornaton replied, that they had not been so easily satisfied, but that they had already given the admiral a medicated drink as an antidote, and to guard against the possibility of hazard.†

In the course of the same day, the king despatched circular letters to his several provincial governors, acquainting them with the untoward event of the morning, expressing his determination to punish the

* *Le lecteur peut penser où cela tendoit, mais la Providence de Dieu disposa des choses autrement.*—*Mém. d'Etat*, i. 202.

† *Id. ibid.*

outrage as it deserved, if the assassin, who was yet unknown, could be discovered; and instructing each magistrate to convey assurances both to Catholics and Huguenots, in his own peculiar district, that it was the firm intention of government strictly to observe the last edict of pacification, and most severely to chastise any one who should contravene its provisions.* The Huguenot leaders meantime held a conference, and there were not a few among them who urged immediate retirement from Paris. Some stated that when on the late marriage-day the King of Navarre and his train withdrew from St. Denis at the commencement of the church service, certain priests were heard to say, as was then believed in jest, that ere long all of them would be forced to attend mass. Others affirmed that several of the chief citizens had whispered abroad that during these nuptials the streets were more likely to run with blood than with wine; and by a third party, a direct warning was reported to have been given by Montluc, Bishop of Valence, before he quitted Paris on an embassy in which he was at that time engaged concerning the pretensions of the Duke of Anjou to the crown of Poland. The good bishop, whose tolerant principles forbid any suspicion that he was informed of the bloody design; but who might, in some degree, have penetrated it from the tenor of his diplomatic instructions, urged the Comte de la Rochefoucault by no means to confide in the flattering professions of the court; but as soon as possible to make a retreat, and to persuade all those whom he valued to accompany him. The rising inclination of the assembled Huguenots to embrace this prudent counsel, although strongly supported by the Vidame de Chartres, was overruled by Teligny, whose generous spirit felt that it would be disloyal to doubt the faith which had been pledged by their sovereign.

* *Le Roy à Mandelot, Gouverneur de Lyon, Aug. 22, 1572. Monumens inédits de l'Hist. de France, p. 36. Extracted from the MSS. du fonds Lancelot, 39. Bibl. du Roy.*

The night of the 22d passed tranquilly. On the following morning the examination of the servants, arrested in Villemur's house, was renewed; and some appearances of popular irritation having been observed, it was thought discreet that the king should be asked to post a few sentinels at the admiral's hotel. Cornaton, who was deputed to make this request, applied for *six* archers of the royal guard; he was answered by the Duke of Anjou that *fifty* should be sent, and that they should be placed under the command of De Cosseins, a name odious to the Huguenots, from his avowed personal hatred of the admiral. When Cornaton would have declined the larger number, he was silenced by a peremptory command from the king, who added that there was no fitter man than De Cosseins for his purpose. Fearfully must the few but pregnant words which Thoré, Montmorency's brother, whispered to Cornaton as he retired, have struck upon his ear! "You could not be under the protection of a bitterer enemy!" But he was forced to reply with assumed composure, "Do you not see that the king's order is positive? We must rely on his majesty's good will; but you heard the answer which I made in the first instance."*

Reports meantime had been circulated that the suspicions of the admiral's friends were mainly directed against the Guises, whom they threatened with violence. The Dukes of Guise and of Aumale accordingly presented themselves before the king, signifying that they perceived their longer abode at court was displeasing, and that, with the royal permission, they would withdraw. Charles, affecting indignation, replied in a bitter tone, that they might go wherever they pleased, and that if the charges against them were verified, they should not be long in hearing from him. About noon, therefore, accompanied by a large retinue, they rode publicly to the gate of St. Antoine, as if for the purpose of taking

* *Mémoires d'Estat*, i. 201.

their departure from Paris ; but not one foot did they set without the city in reality.

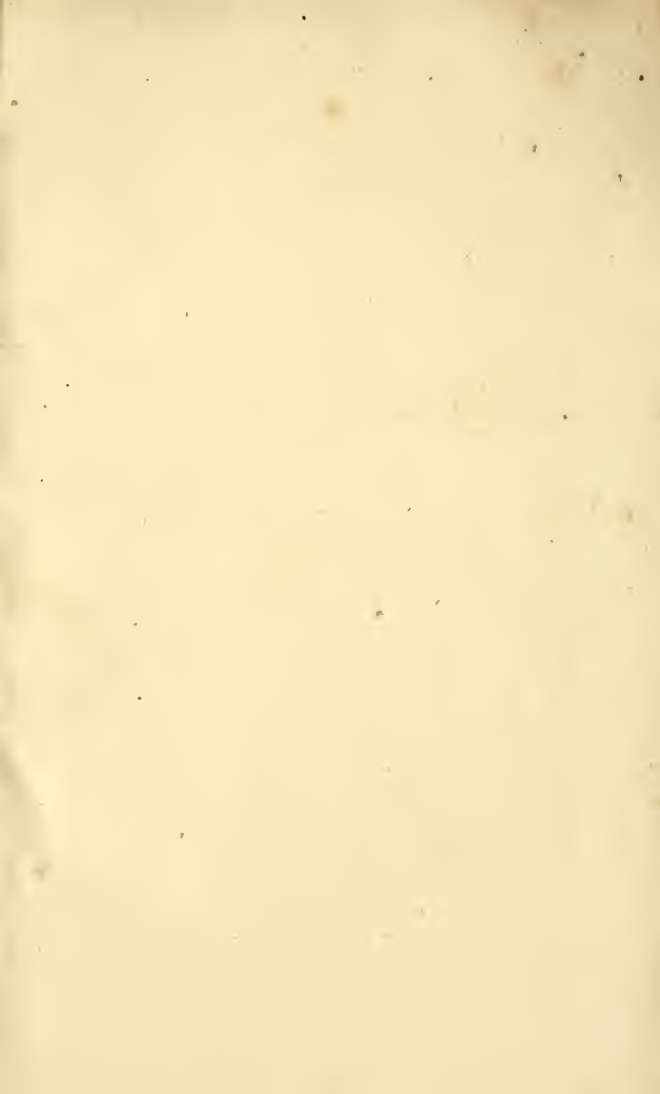
The instructions given to De Cosseins enjoined him to prohibit any Catholic from entering the admiral's house ; if no secret orders were added, he exceeded his commission by turning away two Huguenot agents, and a valet who brought Teligny's cuirass for the service of his master. Under the pretext of affording yet greater security to Coligny, all Catholics were ordered by proclamation to quit their lodgings in the neighbourhood of the palace ; and their place was supplied by Huguenot gentlemen, whose numbers had been previously ascertained and registered, and who were invited to repair from whatever other quarters of the city they tenanted, and to gather round the admiral's hotel as a nucleus. The King of Navarre was advised at the same time to strengthen himself by assembling within his apartments, for the ensuing night, all the persons most attached to his service ; a counsel which he accepted as an especial token of interest in his behalf. But in the more keenly sighted, who had before cherished suspicion, this movement inspired additional apprehensions of peril ; and the Vidame de Chartres once more vehemently pressed his friends to quit Paris in a body, and to convey the admiral with them to some place of greater security. The proposal was again rejected by Teligny, who found support from the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé ; and there is reason to believe that the discussion was immediately reported by a spy to the secret council at that moment sitting at the Louvre.

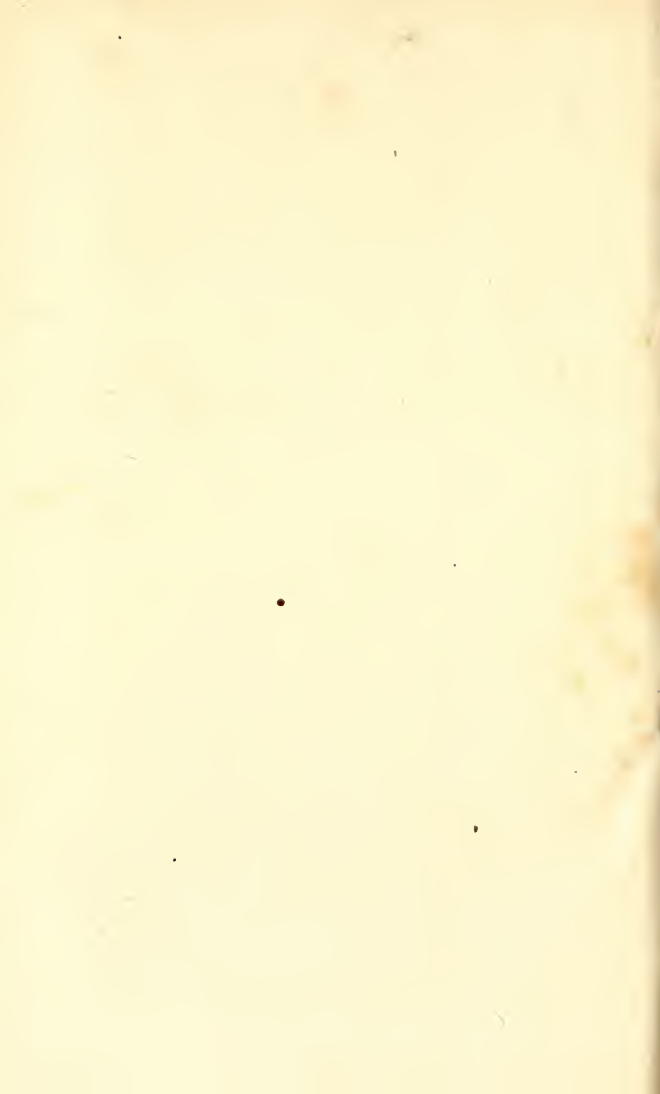
The evening of the 23d of August was closing when the surgeons pronounced the admiral to be free from all immediate danger, and expressed confident hopes of his recovery. Numerous friends, overjoyed by this unexpected report, volunteered to pass the night in his house, but their services were declined by Teligny as needless. He himself retired to his

own lodgings. Five Swiss halberdiers, in the King of Navarre's service, patrolled the admiral's courtyard; his chaplain Merlin, the surgeon Paré, Cornaton, Labonne, Yolet, and five or six inferior attendants, slept or watched in his chamber; and the detachment of royal archers, under De Cosseins, blockaded all the approaches to his residence, when the bell of midnight proclaimed the commencement of the festival of ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.













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